The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1904.

The Week.

Mr. Cleveland has lived long enough at Princeton to acquire something of the "iron heel" which Dr. Holmes associated with that academe; and he set it heavily down upon current Republican pretences on Friday evening. The remarkable enthusiasm which marked his first public appearance in the campaign was not more a personal tribute than a bearing witness to the sound political doctrine for which he stands. Grover Cleveland is the man above all others to resent and riddle the Republican assumption of a monopoly of the public virtues. What hypocritical tongues are now saying of the inability of Parker and the Democratic party to give the country good government, was said by them just as positively of Mr. Cleveland in 1884. His eight years of office should have laid that calumny forever. On the tariff question, Mr. Cleveland's speech sought out again the Republican sore spots which he knows so well. Bred in a clergyman's family, he knows how to hurl the Scriptures at an opponent; and his characterization of the tariff Dives patting himself on the back because he allowed Lazarus the crumbs which fell from his table, was as effective as apt. The whole speech, in fact, with the demonstration that Mr. Cleveland's peculiar hold upon the confidence and honor of the business interests of New York is undiminished, cannot fail to have a stimulating effect upon Judge Parker's canvass.

Again has Judge Parker shown that it is not entirely safe to hurl challenges at him. "Where are you going to begin economizing?" demanded President Roosevelt. "Do you dare to talk about reducing the army?" "Certainly I do," replied Judge Parker on Friday. And, what was still more unkind, he proceeded to give excellent reasons why it should be reduced. It costs more than twice what it did seven years ago. Then we were at peace; now we are at peace. Nobody said the standing army was not big enough then; the burden of proof is on those who maintain that it ought to be larger and twice as costly now. To say, as some Republicans do, that it would be dangerous to reduce it, is to say that Grant and Hayes and Garfield and Arthur and Harrison, their own Presidents, were guilty of imperilling the country by keeping the army so small. As Judge Parker forcibly says, if we are to have a policy of militarism at home and adventure abroad, the army is not too big—is not half big enough. If, however, we are to walk in the old paths of peace, there can be no doubt that the swollen army estimates offer themselves invitingly to the pruning-knife. And he was equally convincing in his references to that catch-all, "miscellaneous expenses." A multitude of sins of extravagance lie covered there.

Senator Knox trod on delicate ground last Thursday when, at the Union League Club, he undertook to praise the present Administration for creating a Federal department for the supervision of corporations. As the ex-Attorney-General explained, the head of the Department of Commerce and Labor had power "to gather such information and data as will enable the President to make recommendation to Congress for additional legislation, and to compel the giving of testimony and the production of such books and papers and the making of such reports as may be necessary for the purposes of investigation." Now we presume that Republican orators would not be "pointing with pride" to the new Department unless they believed it to have been efficient. If it is efficient, it has collected a great deal of "information" about the inside workings of corporations. Yet all the information which that Department has gathered has been and is in the possession of the gentleman at present holding a position one of the customary and legitimate duties of which is to collect a campaign fund. The more efficient the Department has been, the greater the impropriety of the ex-Secretary's present position. We are entirely willing to believe that in his dealings with the heads of corporations Mr. Cortelyou has taken scrupulous care to "speak softly." None the less his former colleague's praise of the Department of Commerce and Labor means, if it means anything, that its head possessed a "big stick," whether he used it or not.

"Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished"—this is the motto adopted by most campaign orators. "Victory," they cry, "is already within our grasp. At the polls we shall be proved innocent of the crimes of which we are accused." Elihu Root, however, is the *enfant terrible* of his party. He has frankly told the members of the Union League Club that "there is a serious question about the election of Governor," that he fears the ticket is in grave danger. In behalf of Lieut.-Gov. Higgins Mr. Root protests. "His nomination came to him unsought. He is no man's man; he is his own man. It is a very hard and very cruel thing that he should be borne down by unjust aspersions." The aspersions to which Mr. Root obviously refers are the charges that Mr. Higgins is Odell's man, that he represents the Administration which is now appealing for a fresh lease of power. If the suspicion that Mr. Higgins is Odell's man is such a terrible injury to a virtuous and independent candidate, why not strengthen him, the rest of the ticket, and the whole Republican organization in this State by retiring Benjamin B. Odell, jr., from the leadership? At present the Governor-Chairman is worse than an old man of the sea sitting upon the neck of his party. Mr. Root's fears that the load may prove too heavy are only too well founded.

In his address on October 19 Mr. Elihu Root quoted Judge Parker's question whether the Republican party would give tariff regulations to the Filipinos "under which they can exist." He then replied by asking the Judge whether he had examined the Philippine Tariff law, enacted September 16, 1901, by the concurrence of Filipinos and Americans, "enacted with sole reference to the interests of the Philippine people, imposing tariff duties lower than they had ever had in the islands before," and approved by Congress without criticism or objection by any Democrat. This is as pretty a piece of pettifogging as has come to our notice for a long while. What Judge Parker meant admits of no doubt. His question related not to the tariff adopted for the islands by the Philippine Commission, but to the high customs duties which keep Filipino goods out of the United States. This dodging of the real issue is all the more interesting since it was this same Elihu Root who, as Secretary of War, in his annual report for 1902, "earnestly urged" that the duties levied in the United States upon Philippine products be reduced to 25 per cent. of the Dingley tariff rates. He added that the "ills which have recently befallen the people of the islands call urgently for active and immediate measures of relief."

A year later this same Elihu Root "earnestly renewed" this recommendation, saying:

> "As matters stand at present, we have practically deprived the Philippines of their Spanish market, and we have so arranged the tariff laws of the two countries that American consumers are making money at the expense of the Philippine revenues. I submit that there is no just reason why the people of the Philippines should not be treated with some fair approach to the advantages which are awarded to the people of Porto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands."

On February 27, 1903, President Roosevelt himself sent to the Senate a special message in which he "very earnestly" asked that "this matter receive the immediate attention of Congress, and that the relief prayed for be granted." He

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asked for action on the tariff "not merely from the standpoint of wise governmental policy, but as a measure of humanity, in response to an appeal to which this great people should not close its ears." Included in this message was a cablegram from Gov. Taft, which said: "Necessity for passage House tariff bill most urgent. The conditions of productive industry and business worse than in November, and growing worse each month. . . . All political parties, including labor unions, most strenuous in petition for tariff bill. Effect of its failure very discouraging." But the Republican party, as represented in Congress, paid not the slightest heed to the appeals of Root, Taft, or Roosevelt, of whom it is so proud. The tariff Shylocks refused to let any considerations of humanity prevail. Since his party thus stands condemned by the words of its own leaders and by himself, it was a piece of peculiar effrontery for Mr. Root to stand up and convey the impression that, thanks to its wise management, conditions in the Philippines are little short of millennial.

"Independence is their cherished ideal," said Dr. Frederick W. Atkinson, ex-superintendent of public instruction in the Philippines, at Lake Mohonk, on Thursday, "and that they may ultimately realize the ideal is, I believe, the *unexpressed* purpose of those who have undertaken the tutelage of these peoples." This, according to the rules laid down for political discussion by the Republican party, is about as far as an American citizen may go without crossing the "treason" line. He is privileged to say, as Dr. Atkinson does, that he believes some one else thinks of Philippine independence as a desirable thing in the indefinite future. He must not say, if in any official position, that he favors it himself, nor that any other person in authority has put it into words. We ourselves think that Dr. Atkinson's address is on the danger line. Parker's speech of a fortnight ago is now being read by every bloodthirsty Moro and Igorrote. These Orientals are notoriously adept in black and occult arts. Is there not danger that they may read by a sort of clairvoyance some of these "unexpressed purposes" of the authorities, and thus become "unsettled"? If our splendid colonial structure is so delicately balanced that, like an Alpine avalanche, a single word spoken aloud will topple it over, people who even think "independence" ought to be carefully watched. Wherein, after all, has the Republican policy changed since Mr. Dooley wrote: "It is our purpose to give them a government suited to their needs, which is small, and generally to do as we blame please with them, making up our minds as we go along"?

The Republican National Committee has now given to Gov. La Follette of Wisconsin the most complete recognition. When a famous spellbinder is sent into the State, not only will he speak under the auspices of the La Follette faction, but he is also expected in his peroration to couple the name of the Governor with that of Mr. Roosevelt. By implication, the latest order requires also that the speaker shall be silent as to the services of the two Republican Senators, Messrs. Spooner and Quarles. The National Committee began the campaign with a unanimous decision for the Stalwart faction; next declared its intention to remain strictly neutral; and now throws all its influence on the other side. The party which gives aid and comfort to Addicks in Delaware because he can marshal more votes than the other side, cannot, however reluctant, refuse to help out the cause of a man who gives such fine promises of "delivering the goods" as La Follette. Yet this decision by no means makes plain sailing for the national ticket. If anything, it affronts the Stalwarts more grievously than the June decision did the La Follette men. Before the announcement that the National Committee would lend a hand in the election of La Follette as well as that of Republican electors, the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, the chief Stalwart organ, observed that "the La Follette following, made up as it is of all sorts and conditions of men, 45 per cent. of whom are not Republicans and never will vote for Republican Presidential electors, will not suffice to keep Wisconsin in the Republican column."

By biding his time and employing Pinkerton detectives, Governor Heyward of South Carolina has bagged five out of the six white men charged with lynching a negro at Eatonville, South Carolina. One of them is the town marshal of Eatonville, and the others are farmers. All of them are now in the State penitentiary to prevent an attempt at rescue. We do not think that there will be any. This was a peculiarly atrocious case, described by the Charleston *News and Courier* as "a shocking crime committed on slight provocation." As a matter of fact, there was no provocation at all. The negro had merely threatened to spank one of a crowd of drunken whites. For this he was arrested, fined $5, and locked up for safe-keeping. That night he was taken from the jail and killed, his body being horribly mutilated after the manner of the Sioux and Apaches. There were sixteen wounds inflicted before the victim was thrown into the water—all inflicted because he threatened a low white man! It is to the credit of the South Carolina press that it vigorously denounced the crime and supported the Governor in his efforts to punish the guilty.

On Monday a Federal grand jury, in response to Judge Jones's charge, indicted several alleged members of the mob that lynched Horace Maples in Huntsville, Alabama, on September 7. The jury stated that Maples's color alone made his killing possible, as he would not have been lynched had he been white; and declared that punishment must be inflicted and the law upheld, for "the white people of this section feel that they owe a duty to the negro race." All this is very gratifying, though there must be very considerable differences of opinion as to the legal right of the Federal grand jury to interfere. The jury itself seems to have had doubts, for it admits that its action may be regarded as "outside interference," but explains that something had to be done. At Statesborough something is likely to be done at last, for Judge A. F. Daly, in charging the grand jury of Bulloch County, declared that the lynchers were murderers as much as their victims, the only difference being that the lynchers were the bolder slayers. Coming after the cashiering of the militia captain whose cowardice, or worse, made the lynching possible, it really begins to look as if the chief offenders might meet with the punishment they deserve.

Each building trade here has its own union and its own contractors' association, between whom working agreements have existed for years. The general arbitration treaty, which really constitutes an appellate court, specifically says that these numerous sub-agreements shall continue in force. In the last year we have had several glimpses into these sub-agreements. In the bricklayers' strike, for instance, it was shown that the local workmen had for years pledged themselves to put in fireproofing only for employers with whom they were already affiliated. The purpose was to give the mason builders a monopoly, and especially to keep out of New York a corporation operating in other large cities. The recent decision of Magistrate Ommen in the cut-stone case has an important bearing upon this point. He found that the workmen and the employers had entered into a conspiracy to control the output. The masters employed only specified unions; the unions worked only for contractors who were in the combination. Any outside contractor was promptly forced in by strikes, or otherwise. The Cut-Stone Employers' Association by this means so controlled the situation that they combined on all competitive contracts. The prices charged were so high that the "successful bidder" was able to turn back 10 per cent. of his profit into a common treasury. This was shared equally by unions and employers. "The representative of the journeymen," the decision reads, "testifies that the journeymen considered it to be their duty

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to protect the interests of their employers against unjust competition and the cutting of prices; that the higher the prices the employers received, the higher the wages were. I suggested that these high prices affected the public, who had to pay them; to which he answered that Commodore Vanderbilt had once said something about the public."

Weinseimer's conviction on the charge of extortion is another triumph for the District Attorney's office. His trial adds little to our knowledge of labor unions. So long as there are contractors willing to make "presents," there will probably be rascally walking delegates ready to accept them. The unions, however, make a better showing in the Weinseimer than in the Sam Parks case. Parks, it will be remembered, became a greater hero the more the indictments piled up against him. He still maintained his leadership in the Building Trades Association; led the labor-day parade after his conviction for extortion; was paid honors of state at the Kansas City Convention of his International Association while waiting a new trial. He was not deserted until, a confessed blackmailer and a consumptive wreck, he was taken away to die in Sing Sing. Weinseimer, however, from the day his guilt became apparent, was abandoned by his union associates. Apparently, the unions have learned that public confidence is a valuable asset, and that to win it they must eliminate walking delegates with $80,000 bank accounts. This is a gain; and it is to be hoped that building employers will, on their part, make a needed progress towards better methods.

The statement that Mr. Alfred Hertz, the conductor of "Parsifal" and the other German works given at the Metropolitan Opera House, is to be forced to join the Musical Mutual Protective Union, calls attention once more to the impudent and tyrannical methods of that union. It is difficult to see much difference between these methods and an ordinary "hold-up," except that in one case a man's life is threatened and in the other case his livelihood, if he doesn't pay up. Perhaps the law will interfere in time, when the offenders, emboldened by their success, shall carry their system to its logical conclusion. There is really no reason why the singers should be allowed to escape blackmail when all the players and conductors are levied upon. Why not point the pistol at the prima donnas, the tenors, baritones, and bassos? Why not boycott all the living composers who do not promptly pay up and wear the badge of slavery? Why not refuse to play for any manager who does not put a union label and pay a union tax on every ticket he sells? And why not leave in a body whenever a critic enters a theatre or concert hall who has not paid his "initiation fee" of a hundred dollars? The possibilities of earning an honest penny in this way are limitless, and the Musical Mutual Protective Union is making but a bungling use of its opportunities.

Professional counsellors in the closet may expect another rebuke within a few weeks. A general election will be held in Canada on November 3. There was a time when Mr. Laurier (he was not then Sir Wilfrid) had altogether too much time for closet study. Certain speeches on free trade delivered both before and after he became the leader of the Liberal party would indicate that he came under the enervating influence of experts. He appears to have been quite incapable of "thinking Imperially" or of realizing that expediency and opportunism are all-sufficient. Eight years ago he took office as Prime Minister of the Dominion, and since then friends whose activities are not by any means confined to the closet have widened his perspective. Now he thinks Imperially, sees Imperially, and, as many a grateful corporation will testify, he does things. He was elected on a platform so distinctly academic that its principal plank was one demanding radical reform of the high protective tariffs imposed by his opponents. For a time the closet counsellors were confident. The oil and binder-twine duties were reduced. There was talk of other reductions, incidentally of reductions of majorities at the next election. About this time Sir Wilfrid Laurier saw the great light of expediency.

The tariff on woollens was raised, and the steel manufacturers were given not only higher duties, but bounties as well. It may be mentioned in passing that the workers in one of the large steel plants which had benefited largely by bounties, advanced the ridiculous plea that, as competition from the United States had been shut out, and as a portion of the taxes which they paid had been given to their employers in bounties, they had a right to expect wages more nearly approaching the scale obtaining in Pittsburgh. They promptly received protection—from a body of Government militia. How far Sir Wilfrid has advanced during these eight years may be judged from the fact that he proposes that any future modification of the tariff shall be made by the friends of the protective system. In his opening speech of the campaign he said: "There shall be no revision of the tariff until there has been ample investigation, until consideration has been given to every class of the community, to the producer and to the consumer. All classes of manufacturers will be heard and will give their advice, so that the Government will have the best possible advice." The leader of the Conservatives, Mr. R. L. Borden, puts forward his tariff proposals in two words, which, while they would doubtless seem indefinite to the cavillers of the closet, are sufficiently suggestive to all who do things. "Adequate protection" is his slogan. It is distinctly good, as containing much of possibility and not too much of promise.

Even the Pope was surprised at the great majority which Premier Combes obtained in the Chamber in support of his anti-Clerical policy. It portended a speedy movement to abolish the Concordat altogether, and this very week we are to have the text of the proposed measures for the separation of the Church and State. M. Combes made a skilful appeal to national feeling as against outside meddling, even by the Supreme Pontiff. The attempt had been made, he said, to discipline a bishop, both a Frenchman and a Republican, by a tribunal which the laws of France did not recognize. He also made much of the alleged departure of the present Pope from the policy of Leo. Such Parliamentary and political tactics, combined with the feeling against the Church which exists to a certain extent in France, may easily lead to the strange spectacle of a Catholic country supporting its Government in cutting loose from the Holy See.

The incident, in the North Sea, of the outgoing Baltic fleet firing upon innocent British trawlers, had a tragic aspect and a nationally inflammatory effect. In reality, however, it was far less calculated to embroil England and Russia than the attempt to control contraband on merchant vessels. Russia may go to the verge of international law in her efforts to cripple Japan, but she could never purposely seek to draw England into hostilities along with her treaty ally. It is apparent that the Russian admiral had a motive of self-preservation not yet revealed, even if he lost his head. We are also reminded how panicky is the boasted "sea-power" in face of floating mines and destroyers, and what folly it is to go on building these costly battleships, as tender as an eggshell when tapped in the right quarter. The moral is not alone for Russia, whose nervous blunder can probably be disavowed with a clear conscience, and will be expiated. On the whole, British phlegm was never more admirably shown than in the calm with which the public received the bloody news, so grotesque, at the same time, as to be incredible. The press has naturally been bellicose in demonstration, and the British fleets have had to be set visibly in motion, but the mob and the exchanges have alike been unexcitable.

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THE CONSPIRACY.

Senator Culberson of Texas, at the Reform Club's Parker meeting in Carnegie Hall on Thursday evening, produced the promised Panama surprise when he read the following letter written by President Roosevelt to Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, twenty-five days before Panama seceded from Colombia:

"*Personal.*

"WHITE HOUSE,
"WASHINGTON, October 10, 1903.

"MY DEAR DR. SHAW:

"I enclose you, purely for your own information, a copy of a letter of September 5th, from our Minister to Colombia. I think it might interest you to see that there was absolutely not the slightest chance of securing by treaty any more than we endeavored to secure. The alternatives were to go to Nicaragua against the advice of the great majority of competent engineers—some of the most competent saying that we had better have no canal at this time than go there—or else to take the territory by force without any attempt at getting a treaty. I cast aside the proposition made at this time to foment the secession of Panama. Whatever other Governments can do, the United States cannot go into the securing by such underhand means the cession. Privately, I freely say to you that I should be delighted if Panama were an independent state; or if it made itself so at this moment; but for me to say so publicly would amount to an instigation of a revolt, and therefore I cannot say it.

"With great regard, sincerely yours,
"THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor *Review of Reviews*, No. 13 Astor Place, New York."

That there was gross injustice, and an unexampled disregard of law and treaty, in the President's course towards Colombia, competent and fair-minded men have been compelled to conclude from the evidence. But they, and the professors of international law who have pointed out the illegality of the President's seizure of Panama, never charged that he was guilty of double-dealing. His own blunt assertion of an intention to do whatever he pleased was bad enough; but if deceit lurked behind, the matter was much worse than was supposed.

It is true that a part of Mr. Roosevelt's letter to Dr. Albert Shaw had been printed. We may say that the whole of it has been in our possession since last November. It was sent to this office, in confidence, by a friend of the President's. That was the amazing thing. This stark admission of a purpose to "take the territory by force," if necessary, was considered by the President a complete answer to the charge that he had taken it by guile. What could be more alarming, as revealing the state of mind of the Chief Magistrate of this nation? The defence was but an aggravation of the original accusation. It was alleged that he had conspired against Colombia, and the answer was that he was prepared to take her property by force! Never was there a more startling revelation of the incendiary ideas in the President's head.

A second question, however, amounting to an issue of veracity, is raised by another phrase in the letter to Dr. Shaw: "I cast aside the proposition made at this time to foment the secession of Panama." Made by whom? Was Editor Shaw proposing to lead a filibustering expedition, like another Walker? Was the Frenchman Bunau-Varilla, whose bad repute stands written in the official documents of his own country, urging the President to promise that use of American warships which was afterwards made, and which Bunau-Varilla pledged himself to the conspirators on the Isthmus would be made? Was Señor Duque, who now says that he "knew" the Administration would support him and the other Panama revolutionists, making a "proposition" to the President? Were any agents of the Panama Company doing it? Some one made the proposition. Who was it? And how, after this admission to Dr. Shaw that he was privy to the plan in advance, could the President inform Congress, as he did three months later, that "no one connected with the Government had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers"? Was the "proposition to foment the secession of Panama" made to the President by the newspapers? To all these questions a speedy and conclusive answer is imperatively required.

A very deadly parallel was constructed by Senator Culberson between a statement in the President's message to Congress and a letter of Secretary Hay's to the Colombian Minister. This letter, it should be added, was not sent to the Senate with the other pertinent documents. Mr. Culberson affirms that it was kept secret for a full year. In it the Secretary made, by direction of the President, a statement flatly contradicted by Mr. Roosevelt himself in his message to Congress. Here is the exhibit:

HAY TO HERRAN.	ROOSEVELT TO CONGRESS.
"I am directed by the President to say to you that in his opinion the 'reasonable time' allowed him by the statute to conclude negotiations with Colombia for the construction of an Isthmian canal has come to a close, and cannot be extended."—January 21, 1903.	"As events turned out, the question of reasonable time did not enter into the matter at all. . . . And yet there had not been a lapse of a reasonable time—using the word reasonable in any proper sense—such as would justify the Administration going to the Nicaragua route."—January 4, 1904.

The truth seems to be that the Secretary was nettled at the miscarriage of his badly managed diplomacy; that the President was wild to get a canal by hook or by crook; and that they turned eagerly to the project of dismembering Colombia. What sort of impression will this letter of Mr. Roosevelt's make upon people in Hayti and San Domingo and Venezuela? With all those countries we have troubled relations. In all of them Americans have great money interests, and are urging the President to intervene in their behalf. Has he written privately to some other friend, "I freely say to you that I should be delighted" if there were a revolt in Venezuela or San Domingo or Hayti? The similar sentiment which Mr. Roosevelt expressed in regard to Panama was so flagrantly improper that it is no wonder his apologists thought it better to leave that part out of their version or the document. Delighted to see a friendly nation broken up! When South Americans read that, they will ask, "Which of us is safe against this plotting American President?"

BELATED PANAMA SCRUPLES.

All the official denials of serious trouble with our new-hatched republic on the Isthmus are themselves denied by the President's letter of instructions to Secretary Taft, Admiral Walker, Gen. Davis, and Minister Barrett have each in turn pictured Panama as a little paradise of contentment. This pretence, however, is now brushed aside by Mr. Roosevelt. He informs us that the residents of the Isthmus are "alarmed" at the attitude of this Government, which they fear intends to injure them in both pocket and pride; and accordingly he resorts to the extraordinary step of sending the Secretary of War on a special mission to compose their ruffled feelings. That there should be in Panama such a thing as "distrust of the American Government" fills the President with grief and pain. It is all a little late, astute Panamanians might say, pointing out that they naturally dread lest the man who swallowed the Colombia camel will not too carefully strain out the Panama gnat.

It is clear that the principles laid down in the President's letter are exactly the opposite of those he acted upon a year ago in dealing with Colombia. If he had been then one-half as scrupulous and conciliatory as he professes to be now, he would never have embarked upon the policy towards Colombia which Senator Hoar and ex-Senator Edmunds described as practically that of a highwayman. Only listen to the considerate man: he even renounces rights which "a just construction of the treaty" might enable us to assert. Last November, he was fairly torturing a treaty to read into it his preposterous claim of power to break up Colombia—all in the way of the purest friendship. To-day, he will waive a clear grant of power, out of fear that its exercise might injure our good name, or that foreigners might be given the impression that the United States had a President ready, in his own language, to "take things into his own hands."

We cannot wonder that the President is ashamed to take advantage of the letter of the treaty with Panama. The people of Panama had nothing to do with its

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drafting. The work was done by John Hay and that shameless and discredited French adventurer and conspirator, P. Bunau-Varilla. The juxtaposition of those two names at the bottom of the treaty is not one of which the American Secretary of State can be proud. It is known exactly how Bunau-Varilla came to sign for Panama. A commission of real Panamanians was on the way to negotiate a treaty—had, in fact, actually reached New York—when the *soi-disant* Minister of Panama at Washington signed the treaty before it was dry. Every one remembers how its modification was afterwards prevented, in both Washington and Panama, on the plea that it must be ratified as it stood, lest it fail altogether. We say, therefore, that for the President to insist upon the strict enforcement of a treaty which was practically forced on Panama, would be about as decent as for a money-lender to seize the furniture of a widow because she had not paid him 124 per cent. interest on the chattel mortgage, as his contract called for.

It is obvious that the President's letter is given out not wholly in the public interest. Its intent as an electioneering document is plain. The people are expected to see in it a refutation of the charge that President Roosevelt is aggressive in international relations. In so far as this betrays a sensitiveness to criticism, and a willingness to give a tacit pledge of amendment, it is gratifying. Mr. Roosevelt has unquestionably disturbed many sober-minded Americans by his headlong and high-handed course towards Colombia. He has caused widespread apprehension—that sort of uneasiness which Tacitus, by a happy though unconscious prophecy in his very phrasing, called the *strenuosissimi cujusque periculum*. Now, apparently, the President is trying to remove that fear—or, at least, to reduce as much as possible its adverse effect upon his political fortunes.

This is of a piece with several other recent attempts to convince the public that Mr. Roosevelt is "safe" in his conduct of foreign relations. President Wheeler, for example, gave it out as "good news," on his return from Washington, that Mr. Hay was to be kept in charge of the State Department. The implication was that he would exercise a conservative influence upon a rash President. This reminds one of the promise which Lord John Russell made when he took Palmerston into his Government in 1846, that he would "control" the meddling Foreign Minister and prevent his policy from becoming dangerous. It did not turn out that way. Palmerston's policy was quite along the lines of Roosevelt's idea of "policing" weaker countries, and his "general interference" in Portugal, in Italy, and in Greece, not only brought England to the verge of war, but made her disliked and antagonized throughout Europe. Lord Russell found at last that the only way to "control" the pernicious activity of Palmerston was to turn him out of the Cabinet, which he accordingly did.

Mr. Roosevelt, in fact, might do worse than make a careful study of Palmerston's career. Popularity, no doubt, is to be won by any public man who will make a vehement assertion of his country's claims as against all others. Palmerston was, in his day, the idol of all English Chauvinists. He swung the Big Stick, and the cheers for "Old Pam" were as frantic as for "Teddy." But what was the net result of his foreign policy? To make England at once weak and hated. The contemporary shouting of the multitude cannot offset the historical verdict on Palmerston, which is against him. His conception of diplomacy was, as Sir Robert Peel declared, to use it "to fester every wound, to provoke instead of soothing resentments, to place a minister in every court of Europe for the purpose, not of preventing quarrels or of adjusting quarrels, but for the purpose of continuing an angry correspondence and promoting what is supposed to be an English interest by keeping up conflicts with the representatives of other Powers." And Gladstone, in the great debate in 1850, boldly met Palmerston's swagger about *civis Romanus sum*, by asking:

> "What then, sir, was a Roman citizen? He was the member of a privileged caste; he belonged to a conquering race, to a nation that held all others bound down by the strong arm of power. For him there was to be an exceptional system of law, for him principles were to be asserted, and by him rights were to be enjoyed, that were denied to the rest of the world."

If President Roosevelt's letter of instructions in regard to the treatment of Panama shows that he has seen the error of his ways, and means hereafter to display magnanimity and patience towards the weak, instead of a disposition to browbeat and crush and despoil them, it may be taken as a happy augury.

HELP FROM THE PHILIPPINES.

We cannot imagine fair-minded Republicans approving the course of the Administration in calling upon the Governor of the Philippines to help it in the election. That government which was to "know no politics" we see now that the Republican party regards as a valuable political asset. Secretary Taft's demand upon Gov. Wright, and the latter's dutiful reply, have some aspects that are comic, some that are indecent. In one way, the exchange of telegrams amounts to about this: "Are you making a mess of your work? TAFT." "I don't think I am. WRIGHT." But, in another sense, there is something positively improper and offensive in using several hundred dollars of the public money to pay for a Republican campaign document. In other words, what was predicted when we entered upon our annexation of distant islands has already come to pass. They are flung as a make-weight into the scales of a Presidential election. In the most unblushing partisan spirit, official reports are ordered so as to help the party in power.

Narrowly inspected, what does this vindication of the Philippine Commission by itself amount to? Secretary Taft, recalling how he himself was compelled to make unfulfilled predictions to aid McKinley in 1900, telegraphed over an opinion about conditions in the islands quoted by Judge Parker from a recent investigator on the spot. This opinion Gov. Wright ostensibly controverts, but practically confirms. It was charged that, at their "worst," American officials in the Philippines have been "dishonest, corrupt, and despotic." All that Gov. Wright denies is that "any considerable number" have been. He admits a "number of defaults," but proudly reports that the Government has suffered no loss, since it was "protected by insurance." Gov. Wright states that the "defaulters, with a few exceptions, appeared prior to the inauguration of the law"—that is, the civil-service law. But the report of the Philippine Civil Service Board for 1903 shows that thirty-nine persons had been removed from the classified service "for cause." The notorious cause is embezzlement.

Gov. Wright also, to the ear, denies that the Philippines are in a bad way agriculturally. In reality, he admits it. It should be noted, in passing, that the statements on this point, made by the observer whom Judge Parker quoted, were no stronger than those of that old Philippine expert, John Foreman. Gov. Wright concedes that there has been "a reduced area of cultivation" with "considerable distress," and that the exports (almost wholly agricultural) "fell off" during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904. Thus does our Philippine Balaam, summoned to curse Judge Parker, come very near to blessing him.

On the question of suppressing newspaper criticism and censoring the native theatres, Gov. Wright's denials are again tantamount to admissions. The Philippine Commission would never think of censoring plays—unless, of course, they contain such "insurrectionary" sentiments as the one suppressed a year ago. So, too, editors are perfectly free to criticise, though they go to jail, along with those two American newspaper men who were condemned as seditious, without a jury, and appealed in vain to the Supreme Court in Washington. Similarly, about the ravages of the ladrones. "Not true," cables Gov. Wright, which he immediately explains to mean that "there are only four or five ladrone leaders," and that there are "still a number of small bands prowl-

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ing about." Call you this denying the charges?

Gov. Wright's single round and unqualified denial is of the assertion that taxation is oppressive. But on that question we have some impartial and competent evidence in the November *Atlantic*, at the hands of Mr. Alleyne Ireland. As a student of colonization and an avowed Imperialist, he has been making an expert study of our administration of the Philippines, and comes to the conclusion that it is one of the most wrong-headed, blundering, and burdensome governments ever imposed upon helpless natives. After showing that the Filipinos have to pay 46 per cent. of the value of their exports to support a rule forced upon them, Mr. Ireland adds:

> "That a country should have to pay 46 per cent. of the value of its total industrial product for the privilege of being governed is obviously absurd; and although a dependent tropical government is always expensive, from the fact that the administration is very much better than could arise naturally as a product of native activity, that of the Philippines is much more expensive than it should be.
>
> "Comparing the cost of government, on the basis adopted above, with that of five British dependencies in various parts of the tropics — Ceylon, Barbados, British Guiana, Trinidad, and the Federated Malay States — the average is 27 per cent., as against 46 per cent. in the Philippines."

Mr. Ireland's article is, in reality, a very destructive criticism of our methods in the Philippines. From the beginning, he argues, they have been a medley of good intentions and ignorance, the chief effect being "blindness to local conditions and contempt for universal experience." He thinks that if the officials in the islands—and President Roosevelt along with them, we may add —only knew something of what successful colonization really is, they would not boast so much of having given a model to the world. As it is, they have no basis for intelligent comparison:

> "To give a single example: I was shown in the Philippines some of the most wretched roads I have seen in fifteen years of colonial travel, and was asked with pride whether the English had ever done anything like that for the benefit of their colonial subjects; and when I replied that you could travel a thousand miles in an automobile in the Federated Malay States on roads as good as the Massachusetts State roads, my statement was met, if not with absolute incredulity, at least with the last degree of surprise. It was the same thing in a hundred matters."

Secretary Taft's dragging of Gov. Wright into the campaign would not have been creditable even if it had been successful. Its flat failure will, we hope, prevent further improprieties of the sort. Facts are the last thing the Republicans should try to bring out. Their true line of argument is to say that the American people have become "tired" of the Philippine question, and do not want to be reminded again that, as Mr. Dooley remarks with biting sarcasm, "our own late gloryous war" was "like gettin' drunk an' bein' fined twinty million dollars or a hundred years in th' Philippeens."

AN OVERRATED SPEECH.

The reputation which some men build up on the slenderest of foundations is astonishing. Take the case of Mr. Vanderlip, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and his address before the Illinois Bankers' Association on October 18. It has been everywhere commented upon as a noteworthy deliverance, and Mr. Vanderlip is referred to as one of the acutest of financial critics; yet will it be believed that, in attempting to analyze the sources and conditions of American prosperity, he left out the main cause? He never once mentioned the tariff! This, of course, of itself fixes Mr. Vanderlip's true rank as a thinker. He is nothing but a shallow sophister. The common or wayside Republican stump-speaker would be ashamed to display such ignorance. To speak of the financial resources and industrial growth of the United States without tracing all to that one first cause, least understood, the tariff, is to be as mad as an undevout astronomer.

It is really painful to find a man of Mr. Vanderlip's standing groping about for obscure and inoperative causes when the explanation of the whole is as clear as daylight to any man who will open his eyes. Our ablest publicists have given us the unquestioned truth; and they will experience a shock when they read of his crude opinion that our recent prosperity was intimately dependent upon the establishment of a sound currency. "Poor man," they will say; "still in the beggarly elements! Doesn't he know that the Dingley tariff was enacted before any financial legislation after what he calls 'the definite verdict of the people' in 1896? And of what earthly use is it to have a gold standard if you have no tariff to make us all rich?"

In some of the statistics which Mr. Vanderlip presented, there was here and there what looks unpleasantly like a suppression of a vital truth. For instance, Mr. Vanderlip said, in enumerating our actual resources, "We have a corn crop worth $1,000,000,000." Yes, but why was he not frank enough to tell us that it was all grown under the fostering influence of a protective tariff? One glance at that sacred oracle which enshrines all our hope—the Dingley tariff—should have put him on the right track. Section 227 reads, "Corn or maize fifteen cents per bushel of fifty-six pounds." We do not say it was positively dishonest in Mr. Vanderlip to conceal this duty on corn, but we ask fair-minded men what is to be thought of one professing to be an authority on finance, who has the effrontery to go to Illinois, where every farmer *knows* that a duty of fifteen cents a bushel grows more corn than all the fertilizers used in agriculture, and to discuss the value of the crop without once laying the credit of the whole at the feet of Dingley and the Republican party? Well, we may be sure that the sturdy Republicans of the West saw through Mr. Vanderlip's fallacies. It is not so stated in the dispatches, but we have little doubt that when he spoke so superficially of our wheat crop worth $412,000,000, some instructed person in the audience—a man, say, who had received the pure milk of the word from Senator Fairbanks—whipped out his tariff Bible and cried out, "Credit to whom credit is due! How much wheat could we have raised had it not been for section 234, 'Wheat, twenty-five cents per bushel'?"

We really have not the heart to pursue Mr. Vanderlip's misleading statistics further. Such a very little twisting would have made them sing the praise and glory of protection that his refraining will inevitably arouse suspicion. This will be heightened by his unguarded admission that "the result of the Presidential election," whatever it be, contains no element of business danger. This is pretty cool, coming as it does after the clear proof, which some even of the youngest of Republican orators have been able to make, that Judge Parker's success would mean instant and widespread misery. Mr. Vanderlip pretends to be well informed, yet he appears to be ignorant of the very a b c of financial wisdom, the very kindergarten of tariff doctrine, as laid down by President Roosevelt. The latter carefully explained in his letter of acceptance that, if he is not elected to keep the tariff "pat," the wage-worker will be "either turned adrift entirely, or his wages will be cut down to the starvation-point." Yet Mr. Vanderlip ignores that high and disinterested authority!

Perhaps the very worst of his blunders remains to be mentioned. He affirmed that the experience of the past ten years has taught Americans the wholesome lesson that "there is not a new political economy." This is distressing. We go to this wide-awake man of the marketplace, and we only find him talking like one of President Roosevelt's despised counsellors of the closet. We had supposed that the facts were understood. Political economy, it is well known, was a cunning invention of Englishmen, designed to enable them to prevent foreigners from becoming as prosperous as they. But, even putting this aside, we should like to know how a science devised and adopted for a country having only 50,000 square miles, and neither prairies nor Niagara Falls, can be fitted to a majestic country of more than 3,000,000 square miles, without a ruin. Mr. Vanderlip is ludicrously wrong. We *have* made political economy all over. We have shown the world how to sell without buying, how to get rich by taxing ourselves, how to save money by

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squandering it, how to make huge profits out of customers whose trade we have destroyed. The United States has made the old political economy as obsolete as one of Cleopatra's bonnets, and has developed a system independent of the musty writers of long ago—yes, independent even of arithmetic and common sense. But Mr. Vanderlip, pretending to be an American with his face to the future, denies us this glorious power to break the old moulds, and tries to discourage us by saying that we, children of destiny, time's noblest offspring, have got to do business just as if we were a lot of stupid Englishmen or plodding Germans! He evidently needs a thorough course of Republican campaign oratory.

BABES AND SUCKLINGS.

Two pieces of news that will interest all parents and educators have recently come from Chicago. The children in a grammar school objected to one of the teachers and organized a strike. The affair was managed in the most approved manner. A cordon of pickets, none more than fifteen years old, was stationed about the building; outside this line five or six hundred boys and girls, wearing "union" badges, hooted at the "scabs"—the name applied to the teachers who gazed from the school windows. An infantile walking delegate was on patrol, cautioning his pickets not to yield to either mother or father. It was in Chicago also that some older pupils were equally determined to assert their rights, though they appealed, not to brute force, but to the courts. The Board of Education, in order to break up the nuisance of secret societies in a high school, passed a rule that no member should participate in literary and athletic contests. Certain students and their obedient parents promptly applied for an injunction against the enforcement of the rule, on the ground that it was "unjust" and "vicious." In this particular institution there were ten Greek-letter societies, which, it is averred in the complaint, "stimulated loyalty."

All this reads like a fairy tale to men who have reached the age of thirty-five. These ancient *laudatores temporis acti* wag their heads sadly over the degeneracy of the times, and lament that youth is no longer held with a strict hand, as when they were boys. The official spokesman of these melancholy graybeards is Principal Henry L. Boltwood of the Evanston Township High School, Illinois. Mr. Boltwood lives near enough to Chicago to watch the doings there of the heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time; and he apparently believes that the temper exhibited in Chicago, though it may not have found such emphatic expression elsewhere, exists throughout the country. In a recent address he said: "College athletics and college secret societies are the special features of college life which are injuring the secondary schools."

In developing his thesis Mr. Boltwood argues that the children in our secondary schools, aged from twelve to eighteen, are eagerly imitating the most objectionable features of college life; and he enumerates hazing, betting on athletics, cheating in order to keep on athletic teams, and "cheap imitations of college fraternities, especially in the things in which the college societies are most at fault." To this indictment another count has been added by Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick, physical director of the New York city public schools, who protests against the growing evil of professionalism in school athletics. All this expert testimony can hardly be disputed, for it confirms the belief of people who, though they may have watched the secondary schools less carefully, have nevertheless been much disquieted by unhappy tendencies.

One cause of complaint can never be removed—the youthfulness of the young. The exuberant silliness of adolescence has always been the theme of philosophers as well as of satirists, and it will continue to provoke admiration till the human race becomes extinct. But conditions in the year of grace 1904 are in some respects different from those of 1880—to go back to a prehistoric epoch. To-day the newspapers are giving wider publicity than ever before to the performances of college students; and the facts in which the public seems most interested relate to boyish pranks and athletics. Our football gladiators are sharing with Roosevelt and Parker the distinction of being the foremost men of America. Their pictures adorn our dailies and weeklies; the condition of their muscles is detailed by the column; and their games are minutely reported. Were the captain of the Harvard or the Yale team to sprain an ankle, the accident would be displayed with the startling headlines which are reserved for elopements in high life and other events of transcendent and national importance. All this ink and paper has its effect on the imagination of a boy who lacks that exquisite sense of proportion which invariably distinguishes his elders. The ingenuous lad really thinks a college athlete is a person of consequence, worthy of the fuss made over him; he acts on the sincere conviction that a defeat in athletics is a real blow to the prestige of a college or school; and he never dreams that election to a "swell" Greek-letter society may not be worth several years of assiduous boot-licking.

The result of this distorted view, according to Mr. Boltwood's observations, is a lowering of the morale of the secondary school, in athletics, in amenities of social intercourse, and in studies. The school is broken up into small rival cliques, which strive to secure for their members prominent places on the teams, which give expensive receptions and dances, which snub the "outside barbarians," and which consistently subordinate study to play. Mr. Boltwood's depressing conclusion is, that, while the secondary school is now suffering because its pupils are imitating the follies of college "men," the college will in turn suffer "from a lowering of the character of its recruits." In fine, the college and the school are chasing each other down a seemingly bottomless hill.

There is, however, one factor that has not been taken into the reckoning. Though the public is now daft over college athletics, the mania must sooner or later run its course; we cannot go on at the present pace forever. If our American colleges are to retain the support of serious people, they must do something to check the excesses of athletics, the reckless squandering of time, strength, and money. Our contests must cease to be huge financial enterprises; and parents must tire of butchering their sons to make a Boston or a New York holiday. When the reaction sets in, it will be an undisguised blessing to students of all ages, from the post-graduate school to the kindergarten.

SHAKSPERE AND THE SYNDICATE.

One swallow does not make a summer, and one Shaksperean revival does not necessarily portend the dawn of a new era of the higher drama upon the stage. Nevertheless, the production upon an elaborate scale of three great Shaksperean plays for a season's run in a circuit of syndicate theatres has in it a good deal of cheerful significance.

For the last decade, at least, the stage has been falling into deeper and deeper discredit with the better class of playgoers, who are its most substantial support. In that time there have been a few good new plays and some good individual performances, but the number of both has been steadily diminishing. Of popular successes, of course, there have been many, but a large proportion of these must be ascribed not to inherent merit, but to various kinds of sensationalism, personal notoriety, artful advertising, lack of competition, and a gradual debasement of public taste. But, on the whole, the financial results were satisfactory to the managers. Their system was slowly but surely killing the goose which laid their golden eggs; but so long as there were eggs they were content and confident. Last season, however, there were no golden eggs at all. The goose had been fed too long upon promises and expectation only, and stopped laying. To quit metaphor, the situation in which the managers found themselves was this: They had conceived the notion of making the dramatic output of one continent serve for two. Plays that

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had succeeded in London, Paris, or Berlin must, they argued, succeed in America also. Therefore, a monopoly of these plays and of the best local theatres must lead to fortune. What was the use of bothering about native talent, of encouraging native dramatists or raising a body of American actors? Actors of real or wholly fictitious reputation could be imported if needed, as easily as plays, and all the United States beguiled with drama at second hand, a little worn, perhaps, but stamped with European approval.

It was a pretty and attractive scheme, and it was put into operation with remarkable executive ability. But it had the fatally weak point, that it paid no heed to the inevitable failure, sooner or later, of the supply, not only of plays and dramatists, but of actors. You cannot raise crops, season after season, upon soil that has been overworked and never fertilized. The coöperative managers were too thorough in their operations. They reaped, and reaped, and reaped, without paying any heed to the growing exhaustion of the land, until they found themselves suddenly confronted with conditions of almost absolute barrenness. Of the score or so of dramatists who had been permitted to share the profits of the fat years, some had retired to enjoy a moneyed leisure, others had worked out their rather thin vein of inspiration, some were dead. Of promising new men to take their places there was scarcely a sign. The deadly policy of monopoly, by choking competition, had throttled effort, so far as competent writers were concerned. It had done more than this. By its short-sighted system of forced long runs, it had practically put an end to the production of real actors; that is to say, of men and women capable of any histrionic achievement greater than the perpetual reproduction of their own personalities in minute variations of the modern social drama.

Twenty-five years ago the American theatre was thought to be in a parlous state, but in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia there were still houses where first-rate interpretations of masterpieces could frequently be enjoyed. They are almost unknown to-day. Everybody knows the shifts to which contemporary managers have been driven to disguise the poverty of their literary and dramatic resources—the manufacture of stars by advertisement, the exploitation of social scandals and immorality, the crude dramatizations by hack-writers of trashy but popular novels, the lavish displays of millinery to attract the women, and all kinds of sensation and scenic extravagance to please the gallery. True lovers of the theatre and believers in its artistic and civilizing mission have noted, not without a growing hope and expectancy, the increasing inability of these pernicious expedients to satisfy the public demand for solid and rational entertainment. The financial disaster in which so many theatrical enterprises were overwhelmed last winter was significant of public discontent.

The syndicate managers are shrewd men, who cannot be altogether oblivious to the meaning of these signs. One lesson they must have learned from painful experience, and that is that a good play which was successful when well interpreted in one city, is by no means certain to prove equally profitable when badly performed in another. The fate of "Ulysses" was a case in point; and many others might be cited. That Shaksperean plays gorgeously mounted and carefully acted will almost always pay, Mr. Beerbohm Tree has abundantly proved in London. The magic of the poet's genius exercises its spell even when the power of the medium to interpret it does not rise much above the level of mediocrity. It is almost an axiom that a great play, with its universal appeal to human intelligence, will, if moderately well given, prove more profitable to the box-office than any shallow, flashy piece of no general interest. There is just a chance that this truth, a platitude to all students of theatrical history, has been recognized by the syndicate managers. If they can be brought to realize that the play is the thing, it will not be long before they realize also that they need actors, not mere tailor's blocks, if their elaborate fabric, which has no solid foundation, is not to collapse in indistinguishable ruin.

Herein lies the true importance of their present Shaksperean enterprise, which has begun well. If it prospers they will extend it, and a group of Shaksperean actors will gradually arise. But there will be no such consummation unless the companies are permanent, and this would involve a return to something like the old stock system and a partial revolution in the syndicate methods of management. A stock company without a permanent home would be an anomaly, and the syndicate may be compelled to adopt this view by mere force of circumstances. Training schools for actors of some sort they must have, or go out of business. Should they be reduced to this extremity, a result which is not entirely beyond the bounds of possibility, stock companies would be formed everywhere by the exigencies of the situation, and some of them unquestionably would be Shaksperean.

THE ARKANSAS COTTON BELT.

HELENA, October 10, 1904.

A geological excursion through the Cotton Belt of northeastern Arkansas has, to a Northerner, much beside scientific interest. Indeed, such an excursion probably offers better opportunities for observing the sociological conditions than would a trip made for that special purpose. All the more is this true where the geology has much to do with the sociological problems.

One of the most puzzling geological problems of the Mississippi Valley is found in Crowley's Ridge, which runs from the vicinity of Cape Girardeau in Southeastern Missouri, to Helena, in Arkansas, a distance of about 200 miles. This long, low elevation nowhere rises more than 200 feet above the plain of the upper part of the old delta of the Mississippi, which begins at Cairo and gradually increases in width until the Gulf of Mexico is reached. Here, on the Arkansas side, this delta is from fifty to sixty miles wide, and much of it is overflowed in high water. The overflow, however, is largely from small tributaries to the great river rather than from the Mississippi itself. A curious phenomenon is presented by the St. Francis River, which rises not far from Cape Girardeau, where it is separated from the Mississippi by so low a pass that the flood of the main stream sometimes overpours into it, and so furnishes to the tributary a volume of water which is out of all proportion to the local rainfall.

As a consequence of all this, a wide belt of land bordering the Mississippi in Arkansas is peculiarly adapted for the raising of cotton and other agricultural products which demand a soil enriched by occasional overflows of silt-bearing water. It is through the centre of this belt that Crowley's Ridge runs, dividing it into two nearly equal parts, the St. Francis River being about half the way on one side of it and about half the way on the other. The basis of this ridge is a deposit of tertiary gravel, but it is everywhere overlaid by a capping of loess from twenty to fifty feet thick, which is as much like that deposit where it appears in largest amount and gives fertility to the valley of the middle Missouri, to the wheat belt of Southern Russia, to the irrigated portions of Central Asia, and to the plains of Northeastern China, as two peas are like each other. If, as seems most probable, this is mainly a water deposit, its envelopment of Crowley's Ridge points to a general subsidence of the lower Mississippi Valley, during late glacial or post-glacial times, of more than 200 feet.

Unlike most of the highlands of the Southern States, Crowley's Ridge has in it elements of fertility almost equal to that of the vast flood-plain above which it rises; but as it is heavily covered with timber and is more subject to droughts, its cultivation has been delayed. It is interesting to observe, however, that the population which is spreading over it largely consists of colored families, who give remarkable signs of industry and thrift. Around their comfortable cabins were ever-enlarging fields, which were in process of clearing by the rather slovenly but perhaps economic method of girdling the trees and suffering them to stand for a number of years while successive crops of cotton were luxuriating in the virgin soil.

One of the most cheerful sights which greeted our eyes was that of the numerous bevies of neatly dressed negro children, with school-books under their arms, wending their way to some school-house in a sequestered nook which had escaped our notice. Arkansas has not, indeed, a high reputation for its expenditure in support of schools, either white or colored, but nu-

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merous indications like this, in the country districts, added to that of the large and flourishing colored schools found in Helena, give one much greater hope for the negro population than is derived from the representations of some of the Northern missionary societies. It was especially gratifying, in attending the largest colored church in Helena, to observe that the preacher addressed his audience (consisting mostly of young people) in a manner which indicated a fair degree of educational development, and that, among the notices which he gave out, one of the most prominent was of the opening of the public schools upon the following day, and his advice that his hearers should make the most of them by being on hand at the beginning.

This religious service was itself an indication of prime importance in helping one to form an estimate of the future of the colored people. There are, it is true, numerous colored congregations of the old style, where much can be seen that is amusing and ludicrous; but it would be no more fair to judge the negroes by the most unprogressive members than it would be to judge the white race by their lowest stratum. It should be set to the credit of the colored people that there are in this small city several well-attended congregations where the singing and the preaching compare fairly well with the corresponding exercises of the average congregations in large portions of the country settled exclusively by whites. It is these congregations which are setting the pace for the others, and are working most surely for the ultimate advancement of all.

But, going back to the cotton districts, it was significant to notice that nearly all the work done in the more productive portions of the district was by colored people, and that to a very creditable degree they are coming into possession of the lands in small holdings, the owners of the estates renting or selling almost exclusively to negroes; the poor white population, for one reason or other, cannot compete with them in the cotton fields. This is largely the case, we were told, for social reasons. The negroes so predominate that a self-respecting white family of the working class is bereft of society in the cotton fields, and so the whites are more and more retiring to the less productive higher land beyond, where they eke out a precarious existence in simpler modes of agriculture. It is certain that the negroes are to possess the cotton belt of the South.

Saturday is a great day at Helena. Though the city itself contains but ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, by the middle of Saturday afternoon it seemingly contains fully twice as many, the addition consisting mainly of colored people from the outlying districts who have come in to spend a holiday. They came in all ways imaginable—on foot, on horseback and muleback, riding donkeys, and driving cattle harnessed to broken-down wagons; but there was also a goodly sprinkling of strong Studebaker wagons carrying large families of happy children, and not a few covered buggies containing fond lovers or newly married couples. It was altogether one of the gayest scenes imaginable. For the most part the people were neatly dressed, though not always with the most fastidious taste. We saw no drunkenness or street brawls, while long before sundown every road was hidden by a cloud of dust raised by the happy returning crowd.

On inquiry of several men who have been engaged in business for more than thirty years in Helena, we were assured that the signs of thrift among the colored people of that vicinity have increased materially within the last five years—so much so, indeed, as to mark a new epoch in their history. A director in one of the three banks of the city said that, in his bank alone, there were 400 colored depositors with deposits ranging from four to four thousand dollars, and that there has recently been a marked improvement in the tenacity with which they held on to their bank deposits. His opinion was, that the depositors in one of the other banks were more numerous than in his, so that, probably, the total number of colored depositors would be 1,200. Another gentleman, of equally long residence and wide business connections, said that he had had much experience in selling land in small holdings to the colored people, and that he had observed within the last few years a marked improvement in the promptness with which they were paying their indebtedness. Especially was this noticeable in connection with the recent high price of cotton. The increased receipts were not being squandered, but were applied towards discharging their mortgages and improving their property. In one case, where he had sold 1,500 acres in small holdings, every one had been paid for.

A study of the whole situation also leads an unprejudiced Northerner to be less severe in criticising the attitude of the Southern whites on the question of negro suffrage. Friendly Northerners who have been for thirty years doing business in the region say that when they went there all the offices were in the hands of the colored people, and that the public business was being conducted in a way that would lead to the speedy ruin of everybody. It was an absolute necessity that it should be rescued from the hands of the negroes. When asked what would be the effect of unrestricted suffrage at the present time, the reply was promptly given, that it would result in the return of the colored people to all the offices and the practical disfranchisement of the more intelligent property owners, with a repetition of carpet-bag rule.

Still, strange to say, the negroes do not seem to bear resentment against the white people for taking the reins of government into their own hands as they have done, but are everywhere on the most friendly terms with them. Indeed, this is one of the most striking characteristics of the race, as was illustrated in some painful observations on board a river steamboat coming down the Mississippi. Nothing could be imagined more harrowing to one's sense of justice than the tones of voice and the insulting language with which the mates ordered the stevedores about when engaged in the arduous labor of transferring freight from the steamer up the steep incline of the gangplank to the improvised landing upon the bank. Every tone and word was designed to humiliate the person addressed. At one time, when there was a little hesitancy, a heavily leaded stick was thrown with angry vigor into the midst of the company, who were vainly striving to lift a heavy burden; and yet there was never a murmur or complaint or any signs of resentment from the overworked roustabouts.

Perhaps, however, one's sympathies are likely to be overwrought on such occasions, for it was remarked that when no work was to be done the overseer spoke kindly to the men, and even fraternized with them. Furthermore, the men were paid $2 per day with board and lodging, which we observed was so attractive that when the boat was making up its crew there were several times as many applicants as positions, and the clamor to obtain the places was such as would do credit to a Wall Street exchange when stocks were booming.

On the whole, we are led to believe that the Southern problem is not so different from labor problems in general as is sometimes supposed. The forces at work for the elevation of the colored people are the same as those which are inherent in all civilization, and are now tending with increased force to elevate the race with little regard to the question of suffrage, which is suppressed for a season through the excessive fear of the whites having its origin in conditions which will eventually pass away under influences that cannot be resisted. The negroes of the South are in the main amply protected in their civil rights—as much so as women and children are in ordinary communities. A negro can collect a debt as easily as a white man can. They are also improving their educational facilities in a striking degree. They are acquiring property; they are slowly learning business habits, and they are more and more commanding the respect of the business men who are dealing with them. Taking a long look into the future, one cannot be doubtful of the result. We shall eventually have a colored population at the South which will command the respect and confidence of all.

G. Frederick Wright.

Correspondence.

THE "PEONAGE" LAWS OF THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: You may be interested to know that the Supreme Court of Alabama has recently held that the "peonage" law, under which negroes were fined and imprisoned for violating certain kinds of contracts, is unconstitutional. The case is reported in 37 Southern Reporter, 332 (advance sheets published October 15, 1904).

A similar law was held by the Supreme Court of this State, a few years ago, to be constitutional. It is a disgrace to the State, and it ought to be carried on up to the Supreme Court of the United States, where it would undoubtedly be declared void.

Yours very truly,

J. W. Hawthorn.

Ruston, La., October 17, 1904.

THE HOUR AND THE SCHOLAR.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A Wall Street broker sent word the other day to his friend, a college instructor, that he didn't see "how any sane man could vote for Judge Parker." The other man could not conceive how any clear-minded student of history and economics, de-

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pendent on a fixed and scanty income, could hesitate so to vote. Mr. Cleveland seems to him the sanest man in the country, Mr. Shepard the sanest of New York politicians. The recent speech of the one, the *Atlantic* article of the other, should relieve the broker's mind as to his friend's mental health, at least.

Nearly all of us heartily like and admire Col. Roosevelt; but most men realize no less that his nature and temper point out for him a very different sphere of activity. He has frankly abandoned the leadership he so rashly assumed in the assault on the worst features of the tariff. In that direction the Judge is the only hope of reformers. Nor is the Republican Senate a perfectly secure barrier to progress. Next year a bill of a hundred words, or single bills still briefer, according free cattle, free coal, free iron, free copper, might be something more than good politics. Would the Massachusetts Senators, for instance, ignore a national popular mandate, and urgent instructions from their home Legislature, and oppose such measures?

But why—and for that query this letter was begun—why is no academic voice heard clearly in this economic, social, and moral crisis? The tariff is a question, mainly, for experts. A dozen such could be named from Morningside, New Haven, and Chicago alone. Their general alignments are not unknown; to suppose them indifferent is absurd. Can it be that the financial hopes and needs of institutions, as seen by their executives, are weighty enough to secure silence?

"Nearer comes a hungry people." Mr. Carnegie is not alone in realizing that the enormous increment of national wealth should be, must be, will be, more equitably distributed. The attempt to save or restore by legislation the sturdy, independent middle class, the free farmer, artisan, and tradesman, will certainly be made. If the indomitable forces of liberalism have wise and prudent leaders, all this may come gradually, peacefully, normally. But if the Gracchi be put to silence, Marius is always ready. Even Cæsar may be already born.

The supreme need of the hour is the need of all hours. Politics should not be absolutely controlled by "practical men." The wisest, the most philosophic thinkers and students, the Bryces and the Morleys, should, and in any rationally organized commonwealth would, win, in middle life, positions so honorable, so secure, even financially so comfortable, that thereafter the strongest and plainest utterance of salutary truth, however unpalatable and unpopular, would be their chief remaining ambition and duty.

Who and where are such American scholars? W. C. L.

October 23, 1904.

Notes.

The first attempt to edit scientifically any of the books of Eliot's famous Bible and to bring them within the easy reach of scholars and the general public will be made in 'The Proverbs of Solomon, King of Israel: From Eliot's Indian Bible,' edited, with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by Alexander F. Chamberlain and William Wallace Tooker. Soon the statement may disappear from the public prints that the last person who could read Eliot is dead. The tercentenary of Eliot's birth falls in 1904, and this work will form one tribute to his memory. The difficulties of the task are such that no exact date of publication can be announced.

Francis P. Harper is on the eve of bringing out 'The Life and Writings of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet,' from his unpublished manuscript journals and letter-books and his printed works. This Flemish missionary to our Western Indians had extraordinary opportunities in the period 1838-1872 of studying our aborigines, and the four volumes which have been edited by Major Chittenden and Mr. Alfred T. Richardson fit in alike with St. Louis's celebration of itself and with the Lewis and Clark commemoration. Portraits, views of old trading posts, and maps will accompany the text.

The Macmillan Co. have nearly ready the first volume of a revised edition of Grove's 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians'; an enlarged edition of Dr. E. E. Hale's 'Memories of a Hundred Years'; 'The Declaration of Independence,' by Herbert Friedenwald; 'The History of Columbia University,' now celebrating its 150th anniversary; 'The Practice of Self-Culture,' by the Rev. Hugh Black; 'The Christian Opportunity,' being sermons and speeches delivered in America by Dr. Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury; and 'Players and Vagabonds,' by Miss Viola Roseboro.

Forthcoming from Dana Estes & Co., Boston, are Alexander Dyer's 'Glossary to Shakspere'; a Life of Shakspere, by W. J. Rolfe; a 'Shorter History of Ancient Egypt,' by Percy E. Newberry and John Garstang; and 'Japan: The Place and the People,' by G. Waldo Browne.

The Whitaker & Ray Co., San Francisco, will publish directly 'The History of California and its Missions,' by Bryan J. Clinch, in two volumes, with more than forty illustrations.

'The Makers of Modern Fiction,' by Prof. J. W. Dawson, is in the press of Thomas Whittaker.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. are at the season's forefront among republishers, with Defoe's Works in sixteen duodecimo volumes. Each contains an etched frontispiece, and Defoe's text is preceded by an introduction from the pen of Mr. G. H. Maynadier, of Harvard's English department. This part of the editing is conscientious and informing, while the stamp of the University Press inspires confidence in the accuracy of the letterpress. This is not in any sense, nor is it intended to be, a luxurious edition, but one reasonably within the reach of all who buy books. The external appearance is neat and unpretentious.

Messrs. Crowell also send us a long row of reprints fitted for the same shelf with the foregoing, and part of the series "no gentleman's library should be without." We can barely enumerate them—Boswell's Johnson; Lockhart's Life of Scott; Mrs. Gaskell's Life of Charlotte Brontë; Cross's Life of George Eliot; Irving's Lives of Columbus and of Mahomet; Farrar's Life of Christ; Harrison's Life of Poe; William Morris's Poems, selected and edited by Percy Robert Colwell; and standard fiction like 'Gil Blas,' Bulwer's 'Rienzi,' Lever's 'Harry Lorrequer,' Miss Austen's 'Pride and Prejudice,' and Ware's 'Zenobia.' All these have at least a frontispiece embellishment, and are simply printed and bound.

We will mention here that the same house has brought out Tolstoy's 'Bethink Yourselves!' in attractive form and solid binding, so that this tract is now being doubly circulated in the United States. We know of no country in which the following passage could be pondered more profitably: "A soldier said in answer to my question: 'And how if the enemy attacks what is sacred?' 'What do you mean?' I asked. 'Why,' said he, 'the flag.' And if you endeavor to explain to such a soldier that God's commandment is more important, not only than the flag, but than anything else in the world, he will be dumb, or will get angry and report you to the authorities."

The sixth edition of Dr. C. W. Dulles's 'Accidents and Emergencies' (Philadelphia: Blakiston) is an admirable volume, illustrated, devoid of the usually useless elementary anatomy and physiology that so often encumber such books. It excellently instructs laymen in the relief of the commoner injuries. One of its pieces of important advice, that deserves wide circulation, is: "Live wires held by the sufferer may be short-circuited by dropping (not laying) across them a metal bar, like a poker or crowbar."

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. complete with a ninth volume, "New France and New England," the set of the late John Fiske's history of the American Colonies in the illustrated edition. We have from time to time praised the discrimination used in providing portraits, plans, maps, scenery, titles of old books, maps, autographs—everything authentic and helpful, and nothing more imaginary than old prints (as here of Champlain's encounters with the Indians) which have a curious and antiquarian value. The present illustrations are strictly in line with the former. A good example of the mode of choice is afforded by those which accompany the chapter on Salem witchcraft. We will single out for mention the photo-engraving after the supposed oil portrait of Marquette that turned up seven years ago in Montreal. Though disputed, it is probably as good a likeness as some of its fellows having a printer's label. The volume is very handsomely made.

Funk & Wagnalls have, since our recent notice of Walter Sichel's 'Disraeli: A Study in Personality and Ideas,' become the American publishers of this work.

The veteran musical critic, Mr. George P. Upton, a translator also in many fields, is adapting from the German for A. C. McClurg & Co. an attractive little set of "Life Stories for Young People," as, Beethoven and Mozart by Franz Hoffmann, William Tell by Ferdinand Schmidt, and the Maid of Orleans by Frederick Henning. These narratives have been well calculated for youthful minds past infancy, and Mr. Upton's version is easy and idiomatic. The German illustrations have been taken over, but they are all fanciful, and we should have liked instead (or in addition) portraits of the two composers, the Maid in some modern French statuary, the Lake of the Four Wood Cantons, etc. However, we would not be grudging in our commendation.

We have received a generous handful of volumes in the "Oxford Modern French Series," edited by Leon Delbos, and publish-

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ed by H. Frowde. They are thin crown octavos, decently bound in buff, and excellently, if compactly, printed; and are very reasonable in price. Each has an author's biography in front and notes at the end. We are thus provided with extracts from Balzac ('La Vendetta,' etc.), Alphonse Karr ('Autour de mon Jardin'), Lamartine ('Histoire des Girondins'), Chateaubriand ('Mémoires d'Outre-tombe'), Tocqueville ('Quinze Jours au Désert,' etc.), Sandeau ('Mademoiselle de la Seiglière'), Hugo ('Bug-Jargal'), and Gozlan ('Château de Vaux'). The series deserves the attention of educators, since the aim is to provide a high grade of models for translation into flawless English.

'My Chinese Note-Book,' by Lady Susan Townley (London: Methuen & Co.), is a perfectly clear and compact narrative of her interviews with the Empress Dowager of China and the Mantchu princesses of the Court in Pekin. Part I., or one-half of this book of more than 300 pages, contains an historical résumé, with a sketch of the three religions of China—the moral, ideal, and material, or Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. It is refreshing to find the compiler using critical authorities, and realizing the comparative lateness of real history and the mythical character of most of the pre-Confucian annals. The lady's brief travels were mostly in the Pei-ho valley, and up the gorges of the Yangtse River. Her most interesting and very vivid chapters are those describing her more intimate experiences with the court ladies and Empress, as she sat on the *kang*, amid the ticking of many foreign clocks, and ate sweetmeats as she chatted. One touch of feminine nature makes the whole world kin: we read of the grand dame who makes all China tremble, but, nevertheless, always carefully sees that no robber gets under the bed. Besides two slave girls sleeping on the floor of her room at night, others watch outside the door. The poor Emperor is kept down severely, and made to know his place. The book is well illustrated, and probably gives the best, as it is the liveliest, account of feminine life at court, and especially of the new woman in China educated abroad. Chinese maids of honor have already been given audience while arrayed in Parisian costume, with a courtesy instead of a kowtow. An automobile presented to royalty by a progressive viceroy is probably *non grata*, partly because of the necessity of the Daughter of Heaven sitting behind the driver, and partly because of the woful lack of paved streets in dusty Pekin.

The Chicago Exposition was signalized by the publication, through the American Library Association, of an annotated A. L. A. Catalogue ('Catalog') of 5,000 volumes suitable for a small public library. This work had a marked success, appealing not only to librarians, but to private purchasers and even to students. Before the St. Louis Exposition has closed, we now have a reissue, or rather a complete new Catalogue, designed for 8,000 volumes, under Mr. Melvil Dewey's direction, and classified according to his decimal system. It is essentially an English collection, few foreign works being admitted except in translation. It is in two parts, one classified, the other arranged in dictionary fashion by author and subject. Annotations of appraisal, moreover, and hints of contents accompany the first division, and the authority for each is ascertainable from a table. We need say nothing more of so meritorious a work than that it issues from the Government Printing-Office, under the auspices of the Library of Congress, which, together with the American Library Association and the State of New York, has helped to bear the cost of the enterprise. Future editions are anticipated, when an attempt will be made to indicate the books desirable for a library of 1,000, 2,000, and 5,000 volumes respectively. In the two catalogues of 1893 and 1904, fiction rates at 16 per cent. of the total number of titles. Biography, literature and history stand next in order, each at 13 per cent. plus.

Another, if an humbler, A. L. A. Annotated List is Miss Caroline M. Hewins's 'Books for Boys and Girls,' which now appears in a second edition revised (Boston: A. L. A. Publishing Board). There is nothing better of the kind, and it is made fairly *readable* by the compiler's talks by the way, which are worth pondering.

We can also report the appearance, from the Victoria University Library, Toronto, of a 'Bibliography of Canadian Fiction (English)', by Lewis E. Horning and Lawrence J. Burpee. It makes a pamphlet of eighty-two pages. Slight biographical sketches are reserved for Canadian authors, born or naturalized. Many of these are well known on this side of the border. The publisher is William Briggs, Toronto.

'A Primer of Library Practice for Junior Assistants,' by George E. Roebuck and William Benson Thorne, bears the imprint of Messrs. Putnam, but is English-made and intended. Its summary historical survey of the establishment of public libraries in the United Kingdom and of the legislation to that end is supplemented by the full text of the culminating Act of June 27, 1892. In practical details, while much useful information is conveyed, the instruction will seem rather primitive on this side of the water, where library appliances are so much more highly developed. Still, for that reason, the comparison will be profitable, even of the technical terms employed, *e. g.*, "manuscript catalogues" for card catalogues. Another thing that will strike library assistants here is, that in England they are assumed to be of the male sex only.

Petermann's Mitteilungen, number eight, opens with an account of an archæological journey through the Libyan desert to the Siva oasis, by Prof. G. Steindorff. Its most interesting incident was the visit to an ancient temple, in good preservation, on whose walls were Egyptian reliefs representing the Pharaoh and the ruler of the oasis presenting their offerings to the gods, at whose head was "Amon-Rē" or Jupiter Ammon. Pharaoh's name, according to the interpretation of his inscription, was Achoris, which would make the date the fourth century B. C., and Professor Steindorff has little doubt that this is the sacred spot where Alexander the Great was greeted by the priests as the son of God. Capt. Jerrmann, in a description of his travels through the rubber district of East Bolivia, gives many entertaining sketches of the people and their customs, especially those of the rubber collectors. The map accompanying this paper has a peculiar interest as being the last work of the well-known cartographer, Dr. B. Hassenstein.

Education in the eastern Sudan is making encouraging progress. In the Gordon College at Khartum there is a primary department in which 120 boys are taught in their native tongue according to the Egyptian curriculum. In the technical school, which is equipped with a complete apparatus, there are boys of fourteen and upwards who can read and write and know some arithmetic. The university course is intended mainly for the training of young men of the better classes, sheikhs' sons, etc., to become teachers of village schools and kadis or judges of the Mussulman courts. This class, says a correspondent of the London *Times*, it was thought would be the most difficult to attract to any school or college, "but there are sixty of them attending classes now," and making remarkable progress. "Well dressed, clean, and bearing themselves like Arab gentlemen, they are a credit to themselves and to the college." In addition to these three courses of education, there is a laboratory and a museum. The primary school at Omdurman, on the opposite bank of the Nile, has 220 pupils.

From a recent official report on the condition of Ceylon, it appears that the average annual excess of revenue over expenditure for the past seven years has been five hundred thousand dollars, the amount for 1903 being nearly a million. This excess has been spent on great public works designed to develop the resources of the island, especially on railways and irrigation. The foreign trade has increased 70 per cent. in the last ten years, the exports to foreign countries, mainly of tea, 370 per cent. In this increase Russia leads, while last year Germany took more than treble and the United States more than double the values taken in 1893.

In a recent convention of the Royal Academy of Belgium, M. Mansion made a warm plea in the name of science for the new non-inflected Latin invented by Peano of Turin, as meeting all requirements for an international scientific language. The Italian professor, who had already invented a remarkable system of mathematical ideography, in his new linguistic venture has discarded case-endings, numbers, gender, and person, as was contemplated by Leibniz; and, in addition, the endings of the tenses and the moods. The *copia verborum* is taken from the Latin or its modern representatives; all words are unchangeable; the construction is that of the neo-Latin languages. Latin without inflections M. Mansion regards as the final outcome of a natural linguistic development, and he considers Peano's invention vastly superior to Volapuk or Esperanto. He denies that any of the modern languages, even the English, can ever become the international language of the learned world. This must be an artificial language. His paper is entitled "Latin sans flexion de Peano comme langue internationale de l'avenir," and appears in the *Bulletin de la Classe des Sciences*, 1904, No. 3.

—Mr. Henry Bradley takes the floor in the current quarterly issue of the most interesting periodical in the world, the Oxford English Dictionary (H. Frowde). He introduces the letter M with the usual preliminary discourse on this alphabetic sign. In enumerating its meanings as an abbreviation—and first for proper names—he fails to notice the American librarians'

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cataloguing convention, by which "M:" stands for Mark. This fixed observance might well be recorded in connection with succeeding letters. While the fullest rubric of the present section is Make, which demands thirteen pages or thirty-nine columns, and requires a phrase-key at the end, and is surpassed in the entire Dictionary only by Go, the characteristic of our words in M is the great store drawn from African, Oriental, and South American sources, as a glance at the first five pages will show. Abundant, too, are words derived from names of persons and places—Macadam, Mackintosh, Macassar (oil), Maccoboy (snuff), Mackinaw (blanket), Macaulayism, Machiavellian. This last form, as a substantive, turns up in 1568, as an adjective in 1597, with Machiavel midway in 1570. The relief of the British garrison at Mafeking in May, 1900, prompted the newspaper coinage of the verb to Maffick, to express the British populace's rejoicing over the event, with a speedy extension to mean indulgence in "extravagant demonstrations of exultation on occasions of national rejoicing." Gen. Napier's Abyssinian victory at Magdala in 1868 furnished a name for a red aniline dye, as did the bloody field of Magenta in 1859. By a whimsical contrast, Malakoff was made a brand for crinoline.

—The article on Mamma is a good example of this Dictionary at its best, etymologically and historically. With regret we read that while the educated in England have probably always stressed this word on the last syllable, in the United States the stress on the penult is the more usual; and "a prevailing pronunciation" with us is *momma*. Differing practices appear again in the case of Mail. "In England the word in ordinary use is limited to the dispatch of letters abroad, as, the *Indian mail*, etc.; or as short for mail-train. . . . It is retained as the official word for the dispatch and delivery of inland letters where the general public uses *Post*." The verb To Mail is purely American idiom. Much light is thrown on what is English idiom or usage in several places in this section. "In the main" is now the accepted form of the phrase, and is at the front (1628) in the quotations. But at intermediate points "for," "on," and "upon the main" were ventured. If English idiom—that is, the genius of the language—justified these constructions, usage in the long run rejected them: they are English, yet not English. On the other hand, Main, for 'the chief part,' as "the main of the morning news," "the main of us," would never come natural to an American; it is English idiom in a restricted sense, foreign to American usage, and still "good English." The modern usage of Make, in the sense of 'to compose, write as an author,' is, says Mr. Bradley, "difficult to reduce to rule. It is common to speak of making a sonnet or an epigram; but it would sound odd to speak of 'making' a tragedy or a novel, except with some added phrase, as in 'Some one has made a tragedy on the subject.'" What bars the way? Further along, we come to Make in reference to locomotion or travel, as, to make an excursion, expedition, journey, voyage, one's way, etc., etc., in sufficient quantity; yet presently we encounter the barb-wire fence. "English idiom is apparently capricious in excluding many locutions which would seem to be parallel with these; we cannot, *e. g.*, use *make* with object a *ride*, a *walk* (*cf.* German *einen Spaziergang machen*)." So here we have English as distinct from Teutonic idiom. Moreover, "make a ride" is grammatically correct, and might be English, but it isn't. Foreigners will take warning. So they will note that Ma'am is "used at court instead of *madam* in addressing the Queen or a royal princess." As etiquette is idiom, we will close with another instructive quotation under Majesty: "It was not until the seventeenth century that *your majesty* entirely superseded the other customary forms of address to the sovereign. Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth were often addressed as 'Your Grace' and 'Your Highness,' and the latter alternates with 'Your Majesty' in the dedication of the Bible of 1611 to James I." The inconsistent syntax of this and other similar words, with reference to the second and third person in accord, and to pronouns, is duly pointed out.

—In a recent number of the *Réforme Sociale* M. René Lavollée renews the lament over the depopulation of the rural parts of France. The great cities grow at the expense of the rest of the country, and the small ones grow at the expense of the hamlets. These are, in general, smaller in size than they were a century ago. During the five years ending in 1901 the population of the rural departments decreased by 766,823; out of eighty-six departments, sixty-two were thus affected. During the last half-century probably not one in ten of the small communes has increased in population; the loss has generally amounted to one-quarter or one-third. Moreover, the death rate in the cities compared with the country is as 3 to 2. The movement is not accounted for by the introduction of railways, as it has become more extensive during the last twenty-five years. No doubt the introduction of labor-saving machines has made it practicable to cultivate the soil with fewer men; the product may be greater now than ever before. Allowing for this cause, we still find that the barbarous system of compulsory division of estates, the enormous taxes on the transfer of land, and the system of military service would suffice to produce the effect. There is little inducement to build a permanent homestead so long as the law threatens its destruction when the next generation succeeds. Until this law is improved the birth rate in France will decline and the population be maintained only by foreign immigration. Of course, the effect of life in the barracks is prejudicial to the institution of the family. The habits of soldiers are not such as to make them desire to cultivate the soil, and the peasant's boy is apt to try to find a place under the Government or in domestic service rather than to return to the farm.

—The "American Sportsman's Library" can hardly be said to have made any great gain in its recent addition of a volume on 'Guns, Ammunition, and Tackle,' by various authors (Macmillan). Capt. A. W. Money's opening chapter, on the "Shotgun and Its Handling," is marred by a defence of the amusement of live pigeon-shooting from traps. It is admitted that such shooting is cruel "from the humanitarian point of view," but the humanitarian himself is assailed as an unpractical person who does not really know the difference between cruelty and its opposite. Fortunately, American sportsmen are rapidly reaching a level of ethical intelligence which enables them to discriminate between genuine hunting, with due regard for the game, and the useless slaughter of live birds in what is essentially target shooting. The chapter on the "Theory of Rifle Shooting," by W. E. Carlin, will doubtless interest the expert whose knowledge of advanced mathematics is still subject to command, but nine out of ten of the class to which the book as a whole appeals will find themselves entirely unable to grasp any large portion of Mr. Carlin's discussion. The colored plates of trout, salmon, and bass flies are charmingly done. The art of the illustrator seems to have reached the limit in this particular field. Nature herself could never dress up a Kotoodle bug to compete with the exquisite millinery of Mr. J. Harrington Keene. But we turn from these brilliant plates with real pleasure to the full-page illustration in black and white which faces page 424—a bewhiskered old fellow in battered hat and shirt sleeves leaning restfully against a tree on the river bank, a can of worms at his feet, two setlines tied to stakes near by, and a crooked hickory pole in his hands, "determined to get something." Not that we should hold this up as the proper ideal for the gentleman who wishes to become an angler; but when an ordinary mortal reads a treatise on "tackle" which scarcely recognizes the existence of anything under that name whatever except the artificial fly, it takes a powerful antidote to restore a normal balance.

—'Shelley: An Essay,' by Adolphus Alfred Jack (London: Constable), is, in the language of the author's note, "an attempt . . . to answer the question, Who is Shelley, and what is the attitude in which, to understand him, we ought to approach his poetry?" It cannot be said that Mr. Jack is an altogether efficient guide for a person capable of asking "Who is Shelley?" Nor is his endeavor to fix in a phrase the quality of Shelley's poetry final. His exposition of the clear-eyed Shelleyan view of nature, the antithesis of the Wordsworthian fallacy, is perfectly convincing; his appreciation of individual poems is always excellent; yet when he comes to consider the mould of Shelley's mind as a whole, his notion that "Shelley sees things so clearly that he does not see them clear," is, if we take his meaning correctly, applicable to himself. The fact seems to be that so to imbue one's self with the Shelleyan atmosphere as to become a sympathetic analyst of it, is to make the practice of objective criticism a matter of the extremest difficulty. But Mr. Jack has given us an essay which will provide the initiate student of Shelley's poetry with very suggestive reading. The hundred-odd pages of his essay are compact of that sincere, reposeful scholarship of which Oxford seems to keep the secret still. It is a very sweet and clean piece of writing, admirably low and even in tone, heightened at intervals by a startlingly vivid phrase, as, for example, where it is said of "Adonais," "Throughout the poem the words death and died hoot their continual lament."

—'The Expansion of the Common Law' is the title of a volume of lectures delivered by Sir Frederick Pollock to American law

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schools last year (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.). Prefixed to the course of 1903, as being "sufficiently germane to the matter to serve as a general introduction," is an address delivered in 1895 before the Harvard Law School Association on "The Vocation of the Common Law." The book covers a wide field, and is full of admirable specimens of the author's style. It is a review of the whole process by which the Common Custom of the old local courts of England has been developed into a great modern system of jurisprudence. It touches on a host of subjects, such as equity and trial by jury, which are involved in this process, and the history and proper position of which in our *corpus juris* have been made clear only in our own time. It is hardly necessary to say that whatever Sir Frederick Pollock touches he makes interesting. The simplest lecture is that on "The Foundations of Justice," in which he dwells upon certain features of our courts as derived "from the earliest justice of our ancestors." These are—publicity, neutrality (*i. e.*, our courts judge between parties upon proofs which they respectively bring forward, and exercise no inquisitorial powers), and independence, both in interpretation and in jurisdiction. The lecture on "The Law of Reason" is remarkable for the suggestion that, in the Common Law, reason plays much the part taken by the Law of Nature in other systems. Oddly enough, he is able to confirm his view by a passage from 'Doctor and Student,' hitherto, he thinks, entirely overlooked. The Student, being asked by the Doctor of Divinity what he has to say of the Law of Nature, makes answer: "It is not used, among them that be learned in the laws of England, to reason what thing is commanded or prohibited by the Law of Nature, and what not, but all the reasoning in that behalf is under this manner. As when anything is grounded upon the Law of Nature, they say that Reason will that such a thing be done; and if it be prohibited by the Law of Nature, they say it is against Reason, or that Reason will not suffer that to be done."

TWO STUDIES OF NAPOLEON.

Napoleon: A Short Biography. By R. M. Johnston. A. S. Barnes & Co. 1904.

Napoleon. By Theodore Ayrault Dodge. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1904.

The jaded student of an endless bibliography may find it hard to believe that any one should come forward with a book which appears to differ in scope and treatment from all existing works on Napoleon. It is the impossible that happens, and two Napoleonic novelties have been produced almost simultaneously by writers using the English language. Mr. Johnston's "Short Biography" is conceived in a spirit and written in a style which marks it off from existing sketches of the Emperor's career, while the divorce which Mr. Dodge makes between politics and war gives a distinctive tone to his account of the great campaigns.

Mr. Johnston's book is popular history of the best class—scholarly, readable, and acute. When we call it readable we would emphasize and strengthen a term which is so frequently used in an equivocal sense. It is not only possible to read this volume, but it is difficult to deny one's self the pleasure of an uninterrupted perusal. We quote the first paragraph as an example of the directness and selective skill which are observable throughout.

"In the history of Napoleon Bonaparte we plunge into the characteristic at the very outset—the date of his birth. He was born either in 1768 or 1769; probably, but not certainly, in the latter year. As late as in 1796, when he married, the date of his birth was given as February, 1768; later it was fixed at the 15th of August, 1769. This is not a matter of vital importance, yet it is not without interest, for two reasons. In the first place, it is typical of Napoleon's methods that he should have placed the celebration of his birthday at the same date as that of the Virgin Mary's, which is one associated with rejoicing and merry-making in all Latin countries. Another interesting point in this connection is that in 1768 the Island of Corsica, the home of the Bonapartes, was Genoese; a year later it was French. If Napoleon was born in 1768, he was born a Genoese; if in 1769, a Frenchman."

That signs of rapid composition are sometimes to be met with we shall not deny, but the narrative has dash, movement, and constant vitality. These qualities, added to the writer's grasp of his subject, render the essay an excellent introduction to Napoleonic literature.

One grave danger which Mr. Johnston escapes is the temptation to moralize. In a book of less than 50,000 words there is no room for reflections on the manifold issues that grow out of Napoleon's policy and conduct. Without pretending to maintain a tone of colorless impartiality, Mr. Johnston compacts his comment into a very brief space. What his own judgment of Napoleon is may be largely gathered from the character sketch which occurs in the first chapter:

"He was given to violent bursts of temper, the occasional outbreaks of a nearly superhuman mental energy and of a temperament easily swayed to passion by personal and selfish considerations. He was perhaps the greatest egotist the world has ever seen, with the result that he often applied his indomitable will and magnificent qualities to very low aims. Judged hastily and by certain traits alone, he might be thought to be little more than contemptible—thus, in the matter of veracity. He viewed lying from a strictly utilitarian point of view, and always said just what was convenient, so that his history, written from his own statements, would be little better than fiction. He played cards as he conducted warfare, obtaining every advantage he could, legitimate or otherwise."

This is a passage which one might expect to find in the pages of Seeley, but Mr. Johnston is much more open-minded than his English predecessor, and interprets Napoleon's genius with fuller sympathy. For example, when speaking of the Emperor's correspondence, he says:

"In the thirty-two volumes published officially one might nearly say that there is not a superfluous word, not an embellishment. Conciseness, energy, decision, perception, stand out with overpowering force from every page; and it may quite properly be said that the Correspondence of Napoleon is a great literary monument. It is safe to be predicted that it will be read when the names of Chateaubriand, of Delavigne, and of Lamartine are well-nigh forgotten."

We should be glad to show, were it possible for us to do so within present limits, how Mr. Johnston enforces the main facts of Napoleon's life by appropriate detail and lucid explanation. His account of military operations is particularly clear, and many readers will be indebted to him for their first real knowledge of the tactics which were developed during the wars of the French Revolution. Especially minute knowledge is revealed in his discussion, however brief, of the *causes célèbres* in which each incident has become the nucleus of a polemical library. In general, Mr. Johnston holds a middle course, or rather he is too conservative to be led away by exaggerated hypotheses simply because they are new. Thus, for example, he rejects the theory that Napoleon was an epileptic, or modifies it until its peculiar significance has vanished. At most, he observes, Napoleon was a very slight sufferer, and no epileptic ever showed greater clearness of intellect. "Historically speaking, to say that he was epileptic is probably untrue, and is certainly irrelevant and misleading." To give a further indication of Mr. Johnston's general attitude, we may instance his comment on the execution of the three thousand Turkish prisoners who were taken at Jaffa. After citing the exculpation offered by purely military critics, he concludes: "This may be true, but it might also be pertinently asked: Was not the unprovoked attack of France on Malta and on Egypt at least as great a subject for reproach? Is it not far more important to award blame for the waging of an unjust war than for what is only a military incident, of debatable necessity, occurring in the course of such a war?"

The public has an unfortunate tendency to admire the large books which it never reads—perhaps on the principle *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. We endeavor to give the present sketch some prominence, partly because it shows strong signs of talent, and partly because most readers will find it lucid though not voluminous. The wars and character of Napoleon are such common topics of conversation that, to say the least, it is desirable for every one to know something about them. Every historian who keeps his ears open knows how much drivel is talked by the "well-informed man" about the Emperor of the French, and cannot escape the conviction that not one in ten is familiar with the distinction between the 13th Vendémiaire and the 18th Brumaire. To all who would acquire the essential facts by the shortest possible cut, Mr. Johnston's volume can be recommended, and, unlike most short cuts, this is a safe one to take.

Where we have found so much to praise, we shall hardly be accused of captiousness when we repeat that, in technical matters of style, Mr. Johnston has not quite found his proper level. So far as essentials are concerned, his manner is excellent. He has the ease and rapidity which are needed to do justice to the breadth of his information and the precision of his ideas. But, unless our diagnosis is quite incorrect, facility of expression has been accompanied by a certain neglect of revision which, though slight in itself, is still noticeable. At the same time we must be sure to make our last word one of appreciation, for Mr. Johnston has gifts of clear thought and plain, incisive speech.

Col. Dodge writes on a much larger scale and addresses a totally different audience. While narrowing his field to military affairs, he expands his detail so considerably that, though his work is eight times longer than Mr. Johnston's, he only reaches the Peace of Tilsit at the close of his second volume. Having essayed to produce a 'His-

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tory of the Art of War,' he moves forward from studies of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, and Gustavus Adolphus, to an exhaustive examination of Napoleon's campaigns. Frederick the Great is passed by for the moment, but will be taken up without further delay, and dealt with in the light of the important researches which have been undertaken by the German General Staff. The point of departure for the whole *opus* is a rooted belief that warfare can be studied to advantage only in the original conceptions of the great commanders—or, as Napoleon himself puts it in the passage which Col. Dodge has taken for a motto: "La tactique, les évolutions, la science de l'officier de génie, de l'officier d'artillerie, peuvent s'apprendre dans les traités; mais la connaissance de la grande tactique ne s'acquiert que par l'expérience et par l'étude de l'histoire des campagnes de tous les grands capitaines."

As an exponent of the Napoleonic campaigns, Col. Dodge is descriptive rather than theoretical. He is less concerned to measure Napoleon by a yardstick of his own than to show what actually happened in the field. Whether from a sense of indebtedness to Jomini and other predecessors, or from the nature of his conception, he explains much more than he dogmatizes. Thus these volumes, best suited though they are to readers of some professional training, do not outsoar the powers of the ordinary civilian. Among the chapters of greatest interest are: "Tactics and Administration at the End of the Eighteenth Century" and "Formation for Battle" at the time of the Third Coalition. Here Col. Dodge sets forth with terseness and insight the principles upon which war was conducted under the Directory and Empire, gathering up countless threads of detail into a single strand. Elsewhere—that is to say, through the main body of the work—he follows out one campaign after another with an almost unparalleled minuteness. "There is no work in any language which goes into the military side of Napoleon's career so fully as the present volumes." Such is the statement of Col. Dodge's publishers, and in support of it they might have pointed to nearly 300 pages on the campaign of 1796-97, and more than 300 pages on the War of the Third Coalition. Each action is described with a fulness which occasionally tends to obscure the main issue, and encumbers the text with a host of minor names.

The chief merit of Colonel Dodge's study is its exhaustiveness; its chief shortcoming as a contribution to history is the author's neglect to show us how he got at his facts. Making many thousand statements which cover a wide range of biography, movements, and statistics, he has not appended to his text a single footnote. In many cases we can see from his quotations that he has used good authorities, but he would have rendered his more serious readers a service by giving them chapter and verse on important questions. There are many histories in which footnotes may well seem pedantic and unnecessary, but where the value of the performance hinges upon the accuracy of the materials employed, it is desirable to show that these materials have been tested. The data for the Napoleonic period require the most elaborate examination, and at too few points does Colonel Dodge give us hints of conflicting evidence. In his preface he speaks with warm and deserved approval of Prof. Oman's 'History of the Peninsular War.' His own work has many valuable qualities, but it would have been distinctly improved by a firmer adherence to Prof. Oman's methods of research. To say that Colonel Dodge's 'Napoleon' is simply a compilation would be unfair and misleading, for it shows traces of careful thought in conjunction with wide reading. Our cavil is that it would have resembled compilations still less had a fuller indication of processes been furnished.

Colonel Dodge's opinion of Napoleon as warrior and man can be made out by a careful synthesis of detached passages. In no place, however, does he offer a systematic criticism of the Emperor's genius or put him into line with his peers—unless we except the following comment upon Frederick:

"The picture of Napoleon at Sans-Souci is one which will for ever impress the lover of the great King of Prussia. While Napoleon reverently uncovered his head when he stepped within the portal of the narrow Potsdam vault, where, beside his testy but honest father, rest the ashes of this great man, he whose lineage and whose character were incomparably lower than those of the dead hero could yet not refrain from taking Frederick's sword and belt, as well as other strictly personal relics, to send to the Invalides, where were yet a few of the French soldiers who had fled from Prussian skill and valor at Rossbach, as their victors' sons were now fleeing from theirs."

But, after all, Colonel Dodge's aim is to delineate the strategy of Napoleon as depicted through his marches, even where this involves an account of the routes which were followed by the different corps. On the topographical side the book is strong, and Colonel Dodge's grasp of geographical detail in its relation to strategic purpose constitutes his best claim to rank among the historians of Napoleonic warfare. The maps and illustrations with which both volumes abound are serviceable, though they do not pretend to be of the most elaborate kind.

WAR AND PEACE.

War and Peace. A Novel. By Leo Tolstoy. A New and Complete Translation from the Russian, by Constance Garnett. In 3 volumes. McClure, Phillips & Co.

Those to whom 'War and Peace' stands at the very head of historical novels will welcome a new translation. Those to whom it is a weariness of the flesh—and such exist—will marvel that Mrs. Garnett's version is hardly off the press before announcement is made of still another produced by Professor Wiener and to appear ere long. At the present moment there are at least three attempts to satisfy English readers with a competent rendering of 'War and Peace.' The latest styles itself "complete," but there is no preface to indicate the shortcomings of its rivals in this particular. We have made a rough computation on the assumption of solid pages, and arrive at 654,400 words for Mrs. Garnett; 640,460 for Nathan Haskell Dole's version; and 587,100 for Clara Bell's. Without undertaking to distribute these differences by comparison either mutual or with the Russian, we shall confine ourselves to three parallels from which the respective qualities of accuracy and (above all) of style may suggest themselves. Many more—far too many for our space—would be required to make such suggestions conclusive.

We will begin with a French criterion, namely, Napoleon's sharp censure of Murat for proposing an armistice to the Russians retreating upon Olmütz. The original text accompanies Mr. Dole's translation, which we quote from the Crowell edition of 1898. There is no substantial discrepancy in the three translations; the example is mainly of style:

Garnett, 1:205:

"It is impossible to find terms in which to express to you my displeasure. You only command my advance guard, and you have no right to make any truce without my order. You are causing me to lose the results of a campaign. Break the truce immediately and march upon the enemy. You must make a declaration to them that the general who signed this capitulation had no right to do so, and that only the Emperor of Russia has that right."

Dole, 1:243:

"I cannot find words to express my displeasure. You merely command my van, and have no right to conclude an armistice without orders from me. You are making me lose the advantage of a campaign. End the armistice instantly and march on the enemy. Explain to him that the general who signed this capitulation had no right to do so—that only the Emperor of Russia has this right."

Bell, 1: 274:

"I cannot possibly find words to express my vexation. You command only the van, and have no right to propose an armistice without my orders. You have made me lose the advantages of a whole campaign. Break the armistice at once and march on the enemy. Have it explained to him that the general who signed the capitulation had no right to do so, that no one has the right but the Emperor of Russia."

Our next test is drawn from the description of Natasha's introduction upon the scene of the story. Here divergences will be remarked; but again the chief insistence should be on the skill of the translation. In Mr. Dole's version, to be noticed is the freedom with which the passage is reconstructed and the long sentence broken up.

Garnett, 1: 43:

"The dark-eyed little girl, plain, but full of life, with her wide mouth, her childish bare shoulders, which shrugged and panted in her bodice from her rapid motion, her black hair brushed back, her slender bare arms and little legs in lace-edged long drawers and open slippers, was at that charming stage when the girl is no longer a child, while the child is not yet a young girl. Wriggling away from her father, she ran up to her mother, and, taking no notice whatever of her severe remarks, she hid her flushed face in her mother's lace handkerchief and broke into laughter. As she laughed she uttered some incoherent phrases about the doll which was poking out from her petticoat."

Dole, 1: 52:

"The little maiden was at that charming age when she is no longer a child nor yet a young lady. She was full of life, but not pretty. Her eyes were black and her mouth was large; her bare childish shoulders were rising and falling in her bodice from the excitement of her race; her dark locks were tossed back; her thin arms were bare; she wore lace-trimmed pantalets, and her low shoes displayed her slender little ankles. Tearing herself away from her father, she ran to her mother, and, giving no heed to her stern reproof, hid her blushing face in the lace folds of her mother's mantilla, and went into a fit of laughter. The cause of her laughter was the doll which she took out from under

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her skirt, trying to tell some fragmentary story about it."

Bell, 1: 61:

"The little girl, with her black eyes and a wide mouth, was plain rather than pretty, but to make up for it she was amazingly full of life; her shoulders were still throbbing in her low frock from her breathless run; her black curls, all in disorder, were thrown off her face; her bare arms were brown and thin; she still wore long trousers trimmed with lace, and had low shoes on her little feet. She was at the age, in short, when a little girl has ceased to be a child, but when the child is not yet a conscious maiden. She slipped away from her father and threw herself against her mother without heeding her reproof; then, hiding her blushing face in the lace flounces of the countess's wrap, she went into fits of laughter, and began a long, incoherent story about her doll, which she took out of the skirt of her frock."

Finally, we place side by side a pathetic battle episode of which Kutuzoff is the central figure:

Garnett, 2: 502:

"I did not consider I had a right to conceal from your highness what I saw. . . . The troops are completely routed. . . ."

"You saw? You saw? . . ." cried Kutuzov, getting up quickly and stepping up to Woltzogen. "How . . . how dare you! . . ." (making a menacing gesture with his trembling hands), he cried, with a catch in his breath. "How dare you, sir, tell *me* that? You know nothing about it. Tell General Barclay from me that his information is incorrect, and that I, the commander-in-chief, know more of the course of the battle than he does."

Woltzogen would have made some protest, but Kutuzov interrupted him.

"The enemy has been repulsed on the left and defeated on the right flank. If you have seen amiss, sir, do not permit yourself to speak of what you do not understand. Kindly return to General Barclay, and inform him of my unhesitating intention to attack the French to-morrow," said Kutuzov sternly.

All were silent, and nothing was to be heard but the heavy breathing of the gasping old general. "Repulsed at all points, for which I thank God and our brave men. The enemy is defeated, and to-morrow we will drive him out of the holy land of Russia!" said Kutuzov, crossing himself; and all at once he gave a sob from the rising tears.

Dole, 4: 321:

"I did not feel that it was right to conceal from your serene highness what I have been witnessing. The troops are wholly demoralized. . . ."

"You have seen it? You have seen it? . . ." screamed Kutuzof, scowling, and leaping to his feet and swiftly approaching Woltzogen. "How . . . how dare you? . . . ." and he made a threatening gesture with his palsied hands, and, choking, he cried: "How dare you, dear sir, say this *to me*? You know nothing about it. Tell General Barclay from me that his observations are false, and that the actual course of the battle is better known to me, the commander-in-chief, than it is to him."

Woltzogen was about to make some remark, but Kutuzof cut him short:

"The enemy are beaten on the left and crushed on the right. If you saw things wrong, my dear sir, still you should not permit yourself to say what you know nothing about. Be good enough to go to General Barclay and tell him that it is my absolute intention to attack the enemy to-morrow," said Kutuzof sternly.

All was silent, and all that could be heard was the heavy breathing of the excited old general.

"They are beaten all along the line, thank God and the gallantry of the Russian army for that! The enemy are crushed, and to-morrow we will drive them from the sacred soil of Russia," said Kutuzof, crossing himself; and suddenly the tears sprang to his eyes and he sobbed.

Bell, 5: 87:

"I do not think I should be justified in concealing from your Highness what I saw. The troops are completely routed."

"You saw—you saw that?" cried Koutouzow, starting up with a fierce frown; with his trembling hands he gesticulated threats, and, almost choking, exclaimed:

"How dare you, Sir, tell me such a thing as that? You know nothing about it! Go and tell your general that it is false, and that I know the true state of things better than he does."

Woltzogen would have interrupted him, but Koutouzow went on: "The enemy's left is driven back and his right badly damaged. If you saw wrongly, that is no reason to tell a falsehood. Go and tell General Barclay that I intend to renew the attack to-morrow!" No one spoke; there was not a sound but the old man's hard breathing. "He is repulsed on all sides," he added; "and I thank God and our brave troops! The victory is ours, and to-morrow we will cast him forth from the sacred soil of Russia." He crossed himself and ended with a sob.

Whatever else may be inferred, it is clear—even from the last sentence of the third extract—that this work of genius calls for an English genius to interpret in our idiom.

In the Crowell edition, tables of contents are furnished for the several books, a very useful and indeed necessary clew to the labyrinthine structure of the story. In Mrs. Garnett's scheme these find no place, and the perpetual running-title is "War and Peace." Neither publication has an index, yet this great romance cries for one; or maps, equally to be desiderated. Some luxurious edition of the future may even be supplied with portraits of the historical personages who mingle with the creatures of Tolstoy's imagination, and are so handled as to appear not less real and not less fictitious. The Crowell edition gives in volume one a list of the principal characters, with an indication of the proper pronunciation of their names. For reading aloud, this aid is essential. It might be extended in the index which we crave. In closing, we remark that Mrs. Garnett's volumes are much the handsomest; Clara Bell's the most convenient to hold.

A History of England. By the Rev. J. Franck Bright, D.D., Master of University College, Oxford. Period V. Imperial Reaction, 1880-1901. Longmans, Green & Co. 1904.

With a fifth volume, which begins at Gladstone's return to office in 1880, Dr. Bright closes his meritorious sketch of English history. Fully recognizing the inherent difficulties of his task, he observes towards contemporaries an attitude of studied impartiality. While we should not be unwilling to hazard a guess concerning his private opinion on such questions as the preferential tariff and imperialism, we cannot tax him with twisting the arguments he would oppose, or seeking to do aught but present the views of each party from its own standpoint. In one passage he observes that "the province of history is neither to prophesy nor to encourage, but to note characteristic types and tendencies." The presence of the selective faculty, which Dr. Bright possesses in a considerable degree, is particularly evident throughout this concluding volume. Politics and war, rather than social development, form the subject, and it becomes the author's function to discuss briefly a few salient topics out of the thousands which thrust themselves upon his attention. Dr. Bright's choice is good, his comments are moderate without being colorless, and he is successful in avoiding any strong suggestion of the 'Annual Register.'

To each of the volumes in this series a distinctive title has been assigned. The first section, reaching from Roman times to the accession of Henry VII., is styled "Mediæval Monarchy," the survey of Tudor and Stuart rule receives the name of "Personal Monarchy," and the period which extends from the revolution to the death of William IV. is regarded as the era of "Constitutional Monarchy." The age of Queen Victoria gets two volumes—the "Growth of Democracy," closing at 1880, and the present book, which finds its main motive in "Imperial Reaction." We mention these titles because they throw some light upon Dr. Bright's point of view, and also because we wish to show that he takes 1880 for the great dividing date within the Queen's reign. So long as Gladstone remains in office it is difficult to mark a divide between democracy and reaction, but probably most observers would agree that, during the last ten years of his life, whether in office or out of it, he was striving against current tendencies. Dr. Bright, though a chronicler and not the exponent of any political creed, seeks to give his narrative some unity by accentuating the idea of an imperial reaction.

Not long ago Dr. Garnett distinguished between political pessimism and the note of anxiety which has of late been so audible in the utterances of English public men. Dr. Bright apparently is not a pessimist, but he too is ready to enumerate the grounds of solicitude. In the following sentence, for example, the allusion to the "weary Titan" is all but explicit: "Whether Great Britain is still capable of expanding or even of maintaining its existing expansion, or whether the hour has arrived when, as in other empires, the very greatness of its acquisitions and its wealth tends to overstrain its strength, and leads toward a course of decadence, is a question not to be hurriedly decided." In dealing, however, with the causes of unrest, Dr. Bright is brief and the considerations which he advances have little novelty. Of greater interest are the signs of reaction as he names and describes them. The desire for increased territory, the growing importance of the House of Lords, the ritualistic movement, the increased love of amusement, and the current admiration for military life, stand chief among the symptoms of national feeling which he notes and with most of which, it is clear, he does not sympathize. "Ambition and the love of rule, belief in extended empire, in restricted and selfish commerce, in the superiority of military life, in the value and importance of the privileged classes, and the substitution of symbolism for higher spiritual creeds, are marked characteristics of the time, and are exactly those things which the last century prided itself on having left behind."

Himself a clergyman, Dr. Bright's words on the direction of ecclesiastical tendency derive special weight from his position. He sees a majority of the Anglican clergy

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bent on reproducing the ritual of the seventeenth century, and a distinct section of them repudiating the name "Protestant." In view of these facts, he considers that all attempts to effect a reconciliation of churches are futile, since at no time has the antagonism between the English Church and the Nonconformists been more pronounced. But Dr. Bright has a harder rap for the High Church party than is administered through his allusion to their dislike of the word "Protestant." Many of them, it is well known, combine a lenient attitude towards modern thought with ecclesiastical practices which were in vogue before the Reformation. "It does not tend," says Dr. Bright, "to the healing of this dislocation [among the sects] that a large body of enlightened churchmen have adopted in many respects the liberal views which marked the Broad Church in the middle of the last century. Liberality of doctrine and of criticism are useless as solvents of religious differences so long as they go hand in hand with mediæval ritual and claims to exclusive privilege." We see that our author in his remarks upon ecclesiastical affairs limits his statements to the Established Church, although the Nonconformist conscience gets due credit for its activity at the time of Parnell's appearance in the divorce court.

The two other features of contemporary life in England by which Dr. Bright seems to be most deeply impressed are the love of amusement and the exaltation of the army. The idea that work should be got over as quickly as possible is, in his opinion, gaining ground, or rather it has spread so widely as to embrace the whole community. Everywhere there appears "this excited pursuit of relaxation," which ignores the more serious things of life and drives people to scenes of gayety. "The love of pleasure and excitement, acting in connection with some other causes, has played a great part in changing the entire character of English rural life; the agricultural laborer of the last century has almost disappeared. There are many villages in which young men, or even men of middle age, are scarcely to be found; the work is carried on by old men, and by lads waiting their opportunity to follow their predecessors into the cities." Dr. Bright's comments on the growing cult of things military might well have been uttered by a Liberal of 1870. He sees the England which, but a few years ago, had decided that war was an unmitigated evil however great the duty of defence might be, begin to praise the warlike virtues and to talk of conscription as desirable in itself. Here we witness the encroachment of the reaction in its most objectionable form. The advance of civilization is based on a recognition of the fact that the arts of peace stand on a higher plane than war, which, in Dr. Bright's unvarnished phrase, is "a return to the crudest forms of savage life." When a country, having once outgrown the desire for purely military glory, falls back to the idea that the army offers the brightest of all careers, it naturally sets its face towards the Middle Ages, the era when this conception was dominant. Here we get reaction undisguised.

While we find Dr. Bright's criticism of current tendencies the most prominent passage in this volume, we have read his review of English politics with much interest. Though the subject is rendered difficult by its nearness, its complexity, and its association with party feeling, he has approached it with a freedom from bias which is seldom found among historians of their own times.

Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia. By W. F. Reddaway. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904.

The distinguishing feature of this book is Mr. Reddaway's clear sense of Frederick's limitations. The overflowing energy, the military skill, the quick response to public duty, are all in sight, and so pronounced that most devotees of the strong-man theory are dazzled by them. When Mr. Reddaway depicts the King's shortcomings, he does not merely inveigh against his moral defects; he criticises with some severity the quality of his mind. After every subtraction has been made, the energy remains, and upon it alone the claim to greatness may well be founded; but there are errors of judgment and warping prejudices which detract a good deal from Frederick's reputation for sagacity. Mr. Reddaway gives a clear and vigorous account of his hero's career, but, as we have said, the volume is marked chiefly by its candid admission of defects.

In a chapter entitled "The Problem of 1740," the alternatives which presented themselves to Frederick at his accession are discussed from the broad standpoint of European politics. "It is one of the most grotesque facts in history," says Mr. Reddaway, "that the Emperor William II., when he cried, 'Our future lies upon the water,' should have been uttering as prophecy what ought to have been commonplace for a century and a half." Then follows a long comment upon Frederick's neglect to pursue a colonial policy when even Charles VI. was making Ostend the centre of an Imperial East India Company, and when the Baltic lands were ready to supply a hardy breed of sailors. The Great Elector had founded Great Fredericksburgh on the Gold Coast, and equipped a fleet which fought the Spaniards on the high seas. Why was it that Frederick, who revered the memory of his great-grandfather, should have turned his eyes from the sea while potentates of lesser resources drew profits from their colonial possessions? Mr. Reddaway accounts for this lack of interest in maritime expansion partly on the ground that Frederick lacked the inspiration drawn from travel, and partly by reference to his mistaken views of political economy. A king who believed that his gold hoard was the best symbol of national wealth, was not likely to spend money on doubtful ventures for the upbuilding of trade.

Generally speaking, Mr. Reddaway would limit Frederick's sagacity to matters which lay within the immediate range of his vision. He had no idea that progress meant anything more than administrative improvement, or that the doctrines of the American Revolution could forebode organic change. In the world of pure speculation, also, he seems to have made little headway. "As a thinker," says Mr. Reddaway, "Frederick falls very far short of greatness. Though he struggled all his life with the problem of the World and its Maker, he convinced himself only that Nature furnished irresistible proof of an intelligent creator, but that the idea of an act of creation was absurd." While he retained his admiration for Voltaire as a man of letters, he could see nothing in German literature, least of all in Goethe. Most surprising of all was his contempt for science.

"'Is it not true,' he demanded of D'Alembert, 'that electricity and all the miracles that it reveals have only served to excite our curiosity? Is it not true that the forces of attraction and gravitation have only astonished our imagination? Is it not true that all the operations of chemistry are in the same case?' Euler himself had failed to make the fountains at Sans-Souci play successfully, and the King jeered at geometricians as the very type of the pig-headed. In the campaign of 1778 an officer who trusted his theodolite in preference to his eye was bidden to go to the devil with his trigonometry."

These strictures may not seem to touch essentials, as Frederick was a man of action. Taking him, however, within his own range of politics, Mr. Reddaway finds much to censure. His disbelief in the existence of honesty led him to mistaken calculations regarding Augustus of Saxony in 1756 and the amount of support which Louis XV. was likely to give Austria during the latter part of the Seven Years' War. He was equally unfortunate in his estimate of women. "Prussia suffered severely for his belief that Maria Theresa was pliable, Elizabeth of Russia incapable, the Pompadour insignificant, and Catherine II. shallow." That he gained much by skilful tactics in an age which favored opportunism, is obvious; but Mr. Reddaway finds little to say on behalf of a political diagnosis which saw danger in the Court of Austria, discountenanced an alliance with the German princes, and looked to Russia as the one desirable ally. Worst of all was Frederick's lack of insight into the true functions of government. Mirabeau, much as he admired the smooth working of Prussian bureaucracy, saw that under a foolish prince Prussia would collapse as surely as Sweden had done. Under an ordinary absolutism the autocratic power of the Crown is not exercised by the monarch in person. Frederick, who appointed the non-commissioned officers and fettered the civil service, forms an exception to this rule, and it is his constant intermeddling which brings down upon him the severest condemnation of our author. "He was not profound enough to see that the machine which he labored to render indissoluble, was such that only an unbroken series of monarchs as gifted as he could guide it. Nor was he wise enough, though he knew that the next steersman of the State would be a fool, to alter the machine so as to give it some power of self-direction."

The German admirers of Frederick are willing to swallow a great many camels—moral and otherwise—a practice in which Carlyle also shows remarkable facility. When Droysen says that he was morally justified in seizing Silesia, we see how far patriotism will carry the scientific historian. In the face of such panegyrics as are wont to be heaped on the cynically perfidious sovereign, Mr. Reddaway's strictures will do no harm. Prussia gained power by Frederick's lawlessness and trickery, and his sole monument, apart from his record in the field, is the territorial aggrandizement of his country. To the larger interests of German nationality he was perfectly indifferent, and he applied to politics the methods which enable a modern speculator

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to make his fortune by wrecking a railway. Of course, when this sort of thing is done in politics, plausible extenuations can be found without much trouble. The best thing in Frederick's character was a grim devotion to his work; but even here he does not rise above Philip II. and many others to whom business is a necessity. Mr. Reddaway gives him full credit for energy, military genius, and tactical acumen in politics, yet we are unable to see aught but a bitter sarcasm in his concluding sentence: "As long as the German Empire flourishes and the world is swayed by the principles of its founders, so long will the fame of Frederick the Great remain secure."

We have confined our notice to a single, though it is the salient, aspect of this book. It only remains to say that, as a student of the period, Mr. Reddaway is well informed, and that as a writer of narrative he is more than ordinarily incisive.

Dukes and Poets in Ferrara: A Study in the Poetry, Religion, and Politics of the 15th and Early 16th Centuries. By Edmund G. Gardner, M.A. E. P. Dutton & Co.

Since J. A. Symonds died, no other Englishman has written as satisfactorily as Mr. Edmund Gardner on the Italian Renaissance and kindred subjects. He not only knows his material, but has caught the spirit of the times—a spirit so hard for the modern Anglo-Saxon really to enter into—so that he is peculiarly well fitted for the task which he has now set himself, namely, to trace the story of Ferrara from 1400 to the death of Tasso in 1595. The present volume covers the 15th century and closes with an account of the early reign of Alfonso I.

There are many respects in which this book deserves a cordial welcome. In the first place it gives for the first time in English an account, detailed, consecutive, and interesting, of the Italian State which ranks after Venice, Florence, Milan, and Naples among the Renaissance republics. Ferrara has been neglected by our historians, and yet it had a strongly defined individuality, and it exercised an important, sometimes even a deciding, influence on political combinations in Italy. As the duchy was never sufficiently powerful to take the initiative in conquest, its forte lay in waiting, in compromises, in knowing when to join an alliance and when to hold back; and its career illustrates admirably how a small state could preserve its independence even when cast among a pack of larger and hungry neighbors, each of whom longed to devour it.

The House of Este, which ruled Ferrara for two hundred years, was more fortunate, or more dexterous, than any of its contemporaries, both in the continuity and in the duration of its power. It saw the rise and fall of the Scaligers at Verona, and of the Visconti and the Sforza at Milan; it was already established before the Medici gained control of Florence, it witnessed the extinction of their main line and the degeneration of Tuscany under their bastards. Mr. Gardner furnishes ample material for studying the growth of the family into power, and for comparing its policy and its individual members with those of the other despotic houses, so that we can determine how far personal qualities and how far the exigencies of time and place caused the Duchy of Ferrara to differ from its rivals. The species despot is the same everywhere, but it has many varieties, and of these the Estensian was one of the most enlightened. The Lords of Ferrara, as Mr. Gardner says, made it their policy, like the Medici, "to dazzle their subjects with pageantry, perhaps less from artistic motives than from a desire to impress upon them the splendor and the glory of their illustrious house." This is some compensation for their tyranny, and differentiates them from the brutal Carraresi and Baglioni, or the atrocious Ezzelino da Romano.

Of the Estensi described in this volume, Duke Ercole, who reigned from 1471 to 1505, is the most remarkable. He it was who raised Ferrara to a high political place, and made it a centre of culture. He typifies the ideals of the Renaissance at its culmination. He protects poets, painters, and scholars. He is pious and skeptical. He seeks guidance of Savonarola; he builds a convent for Sister Lucia of the Stigmata, and almost worships her. Yet in his political relations he is crafty, and in his private life he is no model of virtue, although he cannot be charged with either the inordinate licentiousness or the cold-blooded severity of some of his forerunners. Take him for all in all, he is perhaps the most agreeable despot of his age, always excepting the Duke of Urbino; and Mr. Gardner has done well in making a detailed study of him.

The reader who is not familiar with the spirit of the Renaissance may be somewhat puzzled at first by the absence of broad views, or generalizations, round which to group the multiplicity of special facts; but in pursuing this method Mr. Gardner illustrates in the best possible way the individualism of the Italian republics. They had no far-seeing policy, only self-interest, with a resultant opportunism. As the wishes of the people did not count, the whim, often hysterical, of the Duke was carried out unchecked. Mr. Gardner succeeds admirably in reproducing the kaleidoscopic effect of such conditions. Not that he slights the deeper forces at work—for life was not all on the surface; and especially in his chapters on art and literature he brings out the more permanent elements. Nowhere else in English can one find so thorough an account as he gives of Boiardo, the earliest of the great Italian epic poets; or of the founders of that Ferrarese school of painting which has only lately had proper attention paid to it. While he is enthusiastic for his subject, Mr. Gardner is always temperate in particulars. He does not blink the horrors, nor exaggerate the splendors, nor does he linger over the bestialities of such monsters as Alexander VI. His judgments are usually charitable. Of Lucrezia Borgia, for instance, whose coming to Ferrara to be the bride of Alfonso I. is one of the striking events in his story, he takes the least damaging view. He has produced so excellent a work, in spite of the difficulty of making a clear story out of a multitude of details, that we may look for equal success in his second volume, which will deal with less complex politics and will have for heroes Ariosto and Tasso.

Shelburne Essays. By Paul Elmer More. First Series. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904.

All but one of these essays have appeared elsewhere. The exception is not the least important of the series, if it is, as we suppose, the last, "The Religious Ground of Humanitarism." The name, "Shelburne Essays," is an affectionate reminiscence of the New Hampshire town upon the Androscoggin in which for a time Mr. More made for himself an hermitage and gave himself up to meditation upon literature and life in a more epicurean than ascetic fashion. All these essays draw their illustrations from, and refer their allusions to, a wide range of reading and study. Especially does the Hindu note recur with a frequency at first astonishing, but, as we proceed, with the familiar countenance of an expected friend.

The subject of his first essay, "Thoreau," is approached through a long avenue of verdurous thoughts and fancies which makes a pleasure of delay. Reading 'Walden' in his mountain solitude proved an experience comparable with Mr. More's reading of the Odyssey by the seashore, the place interpretative of the book. His special plea is that Thoreau's essays, more than those of any other descriptive writer, are a natural outgrowth of a feeling deep-rooted in the historical beginnings of New England—"the wondering awe of men set down in the midst of the strange and often threatening forces of an untried wilderness." But his most interesting discovery, or interpretation, is that Thoreau is differentiated from the nature poets of the last century by his lack of pantheistic reverie, which is certainly "important if true" in view of the once common intimation that Thoreau had not only "grown the Emerson nose," but all the features of his mind with an assiduous imitation. Mr. More's praise of Thoreau on this head is significant of his own reaction from the pantheistic character of Oriental thought.

The second essay, "The Solitude of Nathaniel Hawthorne," finds in Hawthorne's writings from first to last a succession of variations on the theme of solitude. "No single tale, however short or insignificant, can be named in which, under one guise or another, this recurrent idea does not appear." The danger is that so much insistence on one aspect of Hawthorne's work may tend to obscure other aspects which are of equal if not greater importance. Further, it occurs to us that Mr. More's fondness for the literary parallelism sometimes attracts him to analogies that are overstrained. His suggestion that Miriam in 'The Marble Faun' commits Beatrice Cenci's crime, has, no doubt, been widely entertained. When he writes that 'The Blithedale Romance' is "in every way the slightest and most colorless of the Hawthorne novels," he expresses an opinion to which Mr. Howells is radically opposed; but there is, perhaps, something of excess in both the minimizing and the maximizing view.

The attempt to trace the literary origins of Hawthorne and Poe to a common root in the moral experience of the American people has in it a touch of hardihood, so different were the early experiences of the two men, and so different severally the outcome of their powers—Hawthorne's so intensely moral, Poe's so purely intellectual and unmoral. Neither the Emersonians nor the Eddyites will be pleased with Mr. More's finding Emerson responsible for Christian Science and similar vagaries, but it is certain that the Eddyites have often found the Emerson scripture to their purpose, though Mrs. Eddy protests that her

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indebtedness is not to Emerson, but to Miss Sarah J. Bodwell, the principal of Sanborn-ton Academy.

An essay on Carlyle commends Froude's biography of the undoubting Thomas as "one of the two great biographies of the language." The interest of Carlyle's life is found to centre in his Hindu belief in the illusion of existence, contrasting with an emotional consciousness, egotistic, self-assertive, wholly foreign to the Hindu mind. A chapter upon English verse makes its principal appeal to technical students of prosody; but a secondary to all who are interested in the proper reading of poetry. An elaborate review of Arthur Symons's poems finds that decadent poet equally sincere and sickening; but the sincerity is not so obvious as the morbific quality. There are two essays on the Celtic Revival which abound in sound discriminations, with a frank preference for the late Lionel Johnson to Mr. Yeats as representative of the new Irish school.

Quite the most interesting of Mr. More's Essays is "The Religious Ground of Humanitarianism." It is at the same time the least satisfactory. A careful examination of the Gospels brings out the contrast of their moral idealism with the temper of our modern life. To which shall we cleave? Mr. More's answer is that the teachings of Jesus were merely "counsels of perfection," not requiring general obedience. "His kingdom was not of this world, and there is every reason to believe that he looked to see only a few chosen souls follow in his steps." This seems to us a more lame and impotent conclusion than flat refusal to obey the precepts of Jesus because they are too high and hard for us to realize.

Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus. By Eugen Petersen. Rome: Loescher.

An exceedingly interesting and important contribution to the yet undetermined history of the Roman Comitium and its adjacent structures has herein been made by the first secretary of the German Archæological Institute in Rome. His chief conclusions are based upon a careful examination of literary sources in connection with the remains under and in the neighborhood of the Black Stone discovered by Boni in 1899. The Column and the Cippus with the archaic inscription are among the earliest of these remains, and date back to the "regal period." With them are to be classed scanty remnants of a *suggestus*, consisting of a flight of five steps, some 24 metres long, surmounted on the south by a platform about four metres broad. Column and Cippus stand close to the western end of the steps, which run precisely east and west. The surmounting platform is bounded on the southern side by a retaining-wall of incompletely polygonal outline, concave toward the steps. This wall is to be regarded as the bounding wall of the Comitium ascribed by Cicero (Rep. II., 17, 31) to Tullus Hostilius. Furthermore, Column and Cippus lie in a north-and-south line which just clears the western corner of that rectangular structure to the south of the "Tomb of Romulus" which has been called by some archæologists an "altar." This north-and-south line was the axis of the original Hostilian senate-house, which, to make possible the determination from it of noon and sunset mentioned by Pliny (N. H., vii., 212), cannot have stood as far to the north as Hülsen and others have thought. It must rather have occupied a site partly under and partly in front of the later Secretarium Senatus (Sta. Martina). The Comitium was therefore not substantially reduced in size by the building of the Curia Julia, but was always small.

To the republican period belong the "Tomb," with its vanished lion-guardians, the "Altar," and another *suggestus* with steps and platform, of which a few traces yet remain. These steps, however, run in an arc, of which the "Tomb" and "Altar" may or may not have stood precisely at the centre. But the "Altar" is no more nor less than the Rostra of the Republic, erected first in 338 B. C. The name Rostra was, however, applied not infrequently to the entire hemicyclic structure at the centre of whose outer edge it stood, precisely as also the ancient writers sometimes speak of the Forum when strictly only the Comitium is concerned. The earlier retaining-wall continued in part to bound the platform of the republican *suggestus*, which furnished ample space for statues and for the seats of spectators at funerals and other public celebrations in the Comitium. The "Tomb," with its lions, was erected in the fifth century B. C., and was mutilated probably by the Gauls in 390 B. C. After their departure the monument was not restored, but the former accumulation of sacrificial offerings and débris was heaped upon it. The remains of the tomb itself were thus buried from sight, but the area above it remained open for offerings till Cæsar's time.

The orientation of Rostra and Tomb corresponds to that of the pavement of travertine blocks extending from east to west in front of Sta. Martina and S. Adriano (though at a different angle), but does not correspond to the orientation of Cippus and Column, and therefore to that of the royal senate-house. The travertine pavement doubtless marks the area immediately in front of the Sullan curia. But as the Tomb was constructed in the fifth century, the early senate-house had perhaps even by that time given place to another lying at a different angle, and no longer, therefore, in strict orientation to the points of compass. Its site perhaps extended somewhat under S. Adriano as well as under Sta. Martina. Sulla built his senate-house with the same orientation, and to his time is to be attributed the travertine pavement mentioned above. For the building of the Curia Julia the radial axis was swung yet a little further around, giving the orientation that the denuded core of S. Adriano still preserves. In connection with the other changes then carried out around the Comitium, the pavement was finally extended over the site of the Tomb, which was marked as an everlasting memorial by the quadrate of black marble. This Black Stone was oriented with reference to the front of the new senate-house, and not to that of the Tomb, which also it only in part covers.

With the discontinuance of offerings at the grave of the founder of the city came the establishment of the worship of the founder of the Empire. To the republican rostra, with its encompassing arc, and the altar-tomb of Romulus, succeeded the Rostra Julia, with its hemicycle embracing and sheltering the altar raised on the spot where, from the ashes of his funeral-pyre, Cæsar entered the ranks of the gods. The correspondences are no mere chance, but as purposeful as that less subtle scheme which perpetuated the reminiscence of the vanished republican Rostra by building another at the western end of the Forum with an adorned platform toward the Forum itself, ending on the opposite side toward a smaller area in a series of inward-curving steps.

Such are the main outlines of the interpretation given by Prof. Petersen, on the one side, of the curious and scanty remains from the older period; on the other side, of a number of literary sources. The specialist will need to pay careful attention to the lively argument advanced. Even Prof. Petersen concedes that we can no longer believe the *templum* to be a precisely outlined and oriented piece of ground. Is it not possible that modern archæologists are pushing too far the argument from the orientation of other things?

How to Collect Old Furniture. By Frederick Litchfield. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. 1904. Pp. xiv., 169.

On a former occasion we have reviewed Mr. Litchfield's 'Illustrated History of Furniture,' and he is also the editor of a revised edition of Chaffers's 'Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain.' He is known to readers of his books, and to those persons who use them rather for reference than for reading, as one who takes the dealer's rather than the antiquarian's view in matters of decorative art. Much the same spirit appears in the book before us. There is no great learning shown, and fortunately no affectation of learning. There is no attempt at tracing with any minuteness the growth of style, the modifications of design or the influence of one nation upon another. The pages are devoted to a quasi-historical following up of furniture from the Renaissance in Italy through the Jacobean period for England, through the Empire for France, and in a similar fashion for Italy and Holland. Further chapters deal with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England, this part of the book being set out on a more extensive plan than what has gone before. Chapter VIII. deals with "faked furniture," with some clever remarks on the possibility of detecting work which is new or partly new, and there is a chapter of "Hints and Cautions." Another, of "Notes and Explanations," occupies pages 145 to 164, and in this we read of lacquer, with a very inadequate account of it; of intarsia work, with a misleading confusion between tarsia and certosina. Here, too, are a mistranslation of *chaise longue*, which, at least in the French vocabulary, is not used for one very peculiar kind of seat and for that alone; definitions worth recording of Pembroke Table and Sutherland Table; and a long account of the habits of buyers at auction, and their way of preventing the competition of unexpected outsiders—all trustworthy in appearance, and all entered under the term, "The Knock-outs."

We should advise no one to use this book as an authority, for it is, as indicated above, often careless in its statements; but it is capable of giving a great deal of informa-

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tion to any one who will risk the precise accuracy of this statement or that, or who will check the assertions by more carefully made books. As for the illustrations, they are largely in half-tone prints taken from well-chosen originals, and offer to the reader sixty or seventy excellent pieces of ancient furniture presented in an intelligible way. It is explained that most of the originals are in the museum at South Kensington "in order that the [London] collector may compare," etc.; but really the pieces are simple, and are well shown in the pictures. Not one exceptional work of art, in sculpture or inlay, is offered. The little text cuts may be disregarded, although some of them are taken from the respectable originals published by famous furniture-makers of the past.

A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literatures. London: Luzac & Co.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 2 vols., 4to.

The author of this colossal work, which was begun in 1878, and of which the first fascicle came out in 1886, might well have said of himself with pride, *Usque ad Plaudite vivendum*—one should live till the curtain is rung down; for he died within a week after reading his last proof-sheet. The dictionary is very full, and could not have been written as it stands unless the compiler had read pretty carefully the whole of the vast literature named in its title. He had, of course, the benefit of what was done by many predecessors, from Rabbi Nathan, who about the year 1100 wrote the Aruch, to the late works of Jakob Levy and of Alexander Kohut of New York. Many of the rare vocables and rare meanings of the more common vocables occur in disputed and corrupt readings; it was therefore necessary, in the preparation of the dictionary, to have at hand a comparative table of these discrepancies. This work had been done for the Babylonian Talmud, the most important part of this literature, by Raphael Rabbinowicz, as Dr. Jastrow acknowledges in his preface.

This is the first Talmudic Dictionary written in English, and the English is faultless except in the rendering of law terms; it seems as if a man trained for a preacher were specially unfitted for the business of the lawyer. Thus, the word *Aharayoth*, a very common law term, has a twofold meaning. The more usual is the lien which, under the Talmudic law, a bond attested by two witnesses creates on all the landed estate and slaves owned at the time of its delivery by the obligor; the other meaning is the warranty of title contained or implied in a deed for the conveyance of land. Dr. Jastrow knows both meanings well enough, as he shows by his citations and his English renderings, but his definition runs thus: "*Surety, esp. mortgaged property, or property which may be resorted to in case of non-payment* (even if sold)." Again, in defining *Miggo* (216a), it is called "a legal rule by which the statement of a *deponent* is taken for true, etc.," where evidently a *defendant* stating his defence is meant, not a deponent—that is, a witness.

The quotations are well chosen to throw light on difficult and important passages. It is not, however, the defining part of the lexicon round which the battle of the learned rages, but the etymological, and there are no books whose contents offer greater room for honest difference than the Talmud and Midrash, with their composite jargons. The Mishnah is a sort of decayed Hebrew, mixed with many Aramaic forms and vocables. It contains not a few words that are plainly Greek; very few Latin words, but some very important law terms undoubtedly Babylonian. The Talmud proper, or Gemara, aside from the quotations of Mishnah and Baraïtha imbedded in it, is Aramaic; the Jerusalem Talmud is written in the Western dialect, mixed with a great deal of Greek and some Latin; the Babylonian Talmud in the Eastern dialect, mixed with some Babylonian and quite a number of Neo-Persian words. Foreign elements, such as Greek and Persian, look rather strange when clothed in Hebrew letters, and are sometimes disguised almost beyond recognition. But Dr. Jastrow was a thorough Greek scholar, as behooves a Prussian Doctor of Philosophy; he had, moreover, the Greek derivations of Talmudic words before him in the works of his predecessors, from John Buxtorf down to Kohut. It was not ignorance of Greek, like that of the Babylonian rabbis in the Talmud, which made Dr. Jastrow seek Hebrew or Aramaic roots for Greek names and vocables, but a certain whim of the scholar; and he showed the same aversion to derivations from Latin and from Persian. Dr. Gustaf Dalman, whose short dictionary for Talmud, Targum, and Mishnah was published at Frankfort in 1901, in his preface does full justice to Dr. Jastrow's merits, but "regrets the violence with which he forces Greek and Persian words upon Hebrew and Aramaic roots." It is annoying to meet these *coups de force;* but the caprice finds vent in hardly as many as thirty cases, while thousands of words from the Greek are followed by their true originals in Greek characters.

Among the more important instances in which the author denies the Aryan derivation are the following:

Simta, 'sidewalk,' had for centuries been referred to Latin *semita*, and indeed may be read Sémita; from this same Latin word the Arabs have borrowed the courses of the stars—plural *azimuth*.

Zug, 'a couple,' generally compared with the Greek ζεῦγος, 'a team.' As there are verbal roots, z.u.g., 'to pair,' both in Aramaic and in Arabic, Dr. Jastrow may possibly be right here.

Epikoros, 'an aggressive infidel'—evidently the name of Epicurus, the well-known Greek philosopher. The author tries to connect it with the Aramaic and Neo-Hebraic *hefker*, 'abandonment,' but is clearly wrong.

Istasith, 'civil commotion,' 'party strife,' the Greek στάσις; Jastrow prefers a reading *Istanith*, and finds an Aramaic root for this by assuming a non-existent conjugation, which he calls Ispeël.

Pithgam, 'command,' 'word,' which is Biblical, but most common in the Targumim, is by Bible scholars derived from Old Persian *pratigama*, Neo-Persian *paigam*. Jastrow finds for it a Hebrew root not otherwise known.

Ten-du, words of uncertain meaning, which Rashi says are Persian and mean 'bodies two' (*du*=two), Dr. Jastrow renders "burden of grief."

The author is acquainted with Babylonian influences, but he recognizes only the words most clearly and indubitably drawn from that source—not, for instance, *shetar*, 'a written contract,' the verbal root of which is in Assyro-Babylonian the only one for 'to write,' while in Biblical Hebrew it occurs only in *Shoter*, 'a writer,' *i. e.*, an official; nor *Aris*, 'a tenant on shares,' the Babylonian *irrishu*, 'a cultivator or tenant farmer.'

In short, Dr. Jastrow allows the derivation of any Talmudic word from sources other than Hebrew or Aramaic only when the foreign origin of that word is beyond all doubt.

The Cult of the Chafing-Dish. By Frank Schloesser. London: Gay & Bird.

The chafing-dish in the hands of a highly trained cook is a practical toy, capable, within limitations, of contributing to the gayety of life; but in the hands of an amateur it merely puts another burden of responsibility on the overtaxed digestive organs. Let us take Mr. Schloesser's formula for the making of a matelote of eels, a classical dish of whose delightful possibilities Marmontel tells us in the introduction to his story 'Les Bateliers de Besons.' The liquid of a matelote of eels is a béchamel; as a *liaison* or thickening to his sauce Mr. Schloesser indicates "a walnut of butter and a tablespoon of flour." This, incorporated into the matelote without any previous treatment, would merely contribute to the incongruity of the mess. To show how impossible it is to do justice to a béchamel in a chafing-dish, or even to approach it, we will give the correct method of making this sauce, as an example of its complex composition and the care required in preparing it. We neglect the proportions of each ingredient.

The foundation, then, is butter and flour; the liquid, milk; the flavoring, parsley, thyme, bay-leaf, onion, turnip, and celery; the seasoning, cayenne, salt, and lemon juice. The milk is put on in a small, clean pan with the vegetables and herbs; allowed to simmer for a quarter of an hour and then strained. The butter is then put in a saucepan and allowed to melt. The flour, thoroughly sifted, is added to the butter and briskly stirred over the fire with a wooden spoon. At first it will form a stiff paste; but this will gradually liquefy and end by assuming a honeycombed appearance. Thereupon the milk is to be added gradually. With the first few drops the consistence of the butter and flour will change, becoming stiff like dough. Into this each successive addition of milk should be well stirred so that no lumps may form. The saucepan should be *withdrawn from over the fire every time the milk is added;* the sauce beaten and stirred till quite smooth and returned to the fire to thicken before any more milk is added. When all the milk is in and the sauce both well thickened and free from lumps, it may be allowed to boil, and kept boiling for five minutes or until, when drawn with the spoon from the sides of the saucepan, it falls apart in such a way as to leave spaces upon them quite blank and clean. If the sauce be properly made it should be perfectly smooth, so that no straining will be necessary. When seasoned it will be fit for use. Mr. Schloesser, in his recipe, tells of adding to his mixture a half-pint of claret, brandy, and a tea-cup of

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bouillon. What would Grimod de la Reynière have said of this barbaric desecration of a béchamel?

Mr. Schloesser is a pleasant writer and enthusiastic in praise of his utensil. He calls it "Chaffinda," or, as he says, "my better half. Every bachelor has a wife of some sort. Mine is a chafing-dish."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adam, Mme. Edmond. My Literary Life. Vol. II. D. Appleton & Co. $2.50 net.
Addison, Daniel Dulany. The Story of the Churches. Baker & Taylor Co. $1 net.
Addison, Joseph. Essays. Introduction by Hamilton W. Mabie. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.
Akers, Charles Edmond. A History of South America. Dutton.
Antrim, Minna Thomas. Phases, Mazes and Crazes of Love. George W. Jacobs & Co.
Armstrong, Sir Walter. Gainsborough. Imported by Scribners. $3.50 net.
Austin, Mary. The Basket Woman. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Baedeker, Karl. Paris and Environs. 15th ed. Imported by Scribners. $1.80 net.
Beard, Lina and Adelia B. Handicraft and Recreation for Girls. Scribners. $1.60 net.
Best of Stevenson, The. Edited by Alexander Jessup. Boston: H. M. Caldwell Co.
Bignell, Effie. A Quintette of Graycoats. Baker & Taylor Co. $1 net.
Bolton, Sarah K. Ralph Waldo Emerson.—Raphael of Urbino. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 50 cts. net each.
Bonehill, Ralph. The Island Camp. A. S. Barnes & Co. $1.25.
Bonte, Willard. The Sandman Rhymes. Boston: H. M. Caldwell Co.
Bradenburg, Broughton. Imported Americans. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.60.
Bragdon, Ollie Hurd. The Moon Party. Boston: H. M. Caldwell Co. 75 cents.
Brewster, H. Pomeroy. Saints and Festivals. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $2.
Bridgman, L. J. Kewts. Boston: H. M. Caldwell Co.
Browning Calendar, A. Edited by Constance M. Spender. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 50 cts. net.
Burke's Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol. Edited by James H. Moffatt. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 75 cts.
Burnaby's Travels through North America. Introduction by Rufus R. Wilson. A. Wessels Co. $2 net.
Burton, Ernest De Witt. A Short Introduction to the Gospels. The University of Chicago Press. $1 net.
Byrum, William M. Poems. Boston: Richard G. Badger. $1.50.
Canfield, Dorothea Frances. Corneille and Racine in England. Macmillan Co. $1.50.
Canfield, William W. The Legends of the Iroquois. A. Wessels Co. $1.50 net.
Careers for the Coming Men. (Whitelaw Reid and Others.) The Saalfield Publishing Co. $1.50.
Cheyney, Edward P. A Short History of England. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Clement, Clara Erskine. Women in the Fine Arts. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $2.50 net.
Cook, Joel. Switzerland. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co.
Cummings, Isaac. Cummings Genealogy. Montpelier: Argus and Patriot Printing House.
Daheim-Kalender für das Deutsche Reich, 1905. Lemcke & Buechner.
Davidge, Frances. The Misfit Crown. Appleton. $1.50.
Davis, Rebecca-Harding. Bits of Gossip. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25 net.
Defoe, Daniel. Complete Works. Edited by G. H. Maynadier. 16 vols. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. $16 to $40.
Denslow's Scarecrow and the Tin-Man. G. W. Dillingham Co.
Dewhurst, Wynford. Impressionist Painting. Imported by Scribners. $9.00 net.
Dillon, Edward. Porcelain. Putnams. $6.75.
Doctor's Leisure Hour. Edited by Charles W. Moulton. Vol. I. The Saalfield Pub. Co. $2.50.
Dodge, Mary Mapes. Poems and Verses. Century Co. $1.20 net.
Dole, Nathan Haskell. Richard Wagner. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 50 cts. net.
Douglas, James. Untechnical Addresses on Technical Subjects. John Wiley & Sons. $1.
Downey, June E. The Heavenly Dykes. Boston: Richard G. Badger. $1.
Early Western Travels. Vol. VIII. Buttrick's Voyages; Evans's Pedestrious Tour. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.
Eggleston, George Cary. A Captain in the Ranks. A. S. Barnes & Co. $1.20.
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